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ABSTRACT

Papers from a colloquium on the relationship between Canada's official languages and its economy include: "Economic Dimensions of Minority and Foreign Language Use: An International Overview" (Karim H. Karim); "European Research on the economics of Language: Recent Results and Relevance to Canada" (Francois Grin); "Reflections on Some Economic Aspects of Bilingualism" (Albert Breton); "The Comparative Advantages of Bilingualism on the Job Market: Survey of Studies" (Ghislain Savoie); "Official Language Implications of Immigration" (Alice Nakamura, Emi Nakamura); "Economic Costs and Benefits of the Official Languages: Some Observations" (Francois Villancourt); "How Linguistic Minority Communities; Contribute to the Economic Well-Being of Their Regions" (George J. De Benedetti, Maurice Beaudin); "The Two Official Languages and the Economy: A Manitoban Perspective" (Jean-Paul Gobeil); "Reflections on the Relationship Between Languages and the economy as Applied to Canada (Gilles Grenier); and "The Economic Benefits of Linguistic Duality and Bilingualism: A Political Economy Approach" (Harold Chorney). The transcription of a panel discussion is also included. An introductory section provides background information on the colloquium and its topic, and includes selected quotations from the program. (MSE)

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Official Languages and the Economy

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Official Languages and the Economy

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The Official Languages and the Economic Perspective: New Reality and New Thinking

Context

On Friday, May 5, 1995, a colloquium entitled *Official Languages and the Economy: New Canadian Perspectives* was held in Ottawa. Organized by the Department of Canadian Heritage, this meeting allowed participants to hear the different points of view from a dozen specialists from the public sector, universities and the private sector.

This group of some 80 persons engaged in intense deliberations on the relationships—in the concrete reality and the day-to-day life of our country—between official bilingualism (i.e. the recognition of two official languages by federal institutions) and the economic sphere in general. The various aspects of the colloquium's theme were thus dealt with, including historical considerations, political and social points of view and, of course, the economic perspective. In this way, the major issues surrounding the linguistic duality of Canada were raised.

What are the costs of the policy of bilingualism and what are its benefits? What regions benefit from it financially? How can we ensure the vitality of the linguistic minorities and their contribution to the country's economic growth? Under what conditions can bilingualism become a positive economic factor and truly contribute to the full development of the communities, to the development of industry, to the economic growth of business and the regions?

Main themes

The commercial aspect of bilingualism

On an issue as complex and often as controversial as bilingualism—in a social context to which the ambiguous dimension of multiculturalism must be added—opinions are divided. In this ideological diversity, however, new points of convergence were evident among a number of specialists and a way of thinking that is just beginning to take form, but which already opens, going far beyond the political and social dimensions of bilingualism, onto an avenue that is essentially economic in nature. In this context one speaks clearly of financial benefits and commercial exploitation of acquired skills and specializations. Against a global background of trade and competition, the individual and collective acquisition of a second language is now seen as an economic "asset."

Language training and commercialization

Canadians must learn to use their bilingualism more commercially. Until now, for example, language training was regarded as a service offered by the federal government to its employees. For the general public, access to education in one of the two official languages was promoted through various programs in cooperation with the provinces.

Today, we see the multinational firms taking an interest in language training for economic reasons. Because of the extraordinary movement of goods and services between countries, the new Europe relies increasingly on the teaching of languages. In this regard, Canada will have a twofold advantage. Since our country is a member of both La Francophonie and the Commonwealth, its bilingualism is a vital tool for commercial development.

Linguistic duality has a direct impact on the economy. It is a question of entering a new phase, for, over the years, Canada has acquired considerable and outstanding expertise in the teaching of languages which can be marketed on the international level.

New orientations and gains

Much water has flowed under the bridge since the *Official Languages Act* was enacted in 1969. The shape of the world has changed in ways as unexpected as they have been rapid. The major political upheavals, the international trade agreements, the new partnerships, the irresistible "building" of the new Europe, technological change, the shift in competitive challenges, the advent of the information highway, the competition and the new relationships among trading nations—all these factors give the world's major languages additional importance. French and English are among these languages. It is up to Canada to take advantage of this privileged position.

The federal government of Canada and Canadian society possess a remarkable and outstanding body of theoretical and practical knowledge, of educational and linguistic training tools, of technological skills and expertise, of automated systems and of communications and telecommunications equipment that puts Canada at the forefront of the world's nations and constitutes a range of opportunities from which we must quickly learn to derive all the benefits that they can offer on world markets.

The economics of language has become a Canadian phenomenon, says a specialist from Switzerland, especially since the adoption of the *Official Languages Act* in 1969 and of its amended version in 1988. Canada has an exceptional place in this regard: its linguistic duality should favour the establishment of new firms on its

territory. But it should also prompt the country to exploit its expertise with respect to bilingualism and language training and to offer it systematically on world markets.

The evolution of discourse concerning official languages

In less than one generation, the thinking about languages will have changed markedly. It is not unanimous and, of course, never will be. That is not our aim. The initial thinking on bilingualism was of a directly political nature, since the federal government was making its institutions bilingual, creating a Language Bureau for public servants and taking certain measures to promote instruction in the mother tongue and the learning of the "other" official language, thereby assisting, while respecting provincial jurisdictions, the full development of the linguistic minorities.

Twenty-five years separate us from the 1969 *Official Languages Act*. During all these years, certain initiatives were taken across the country, sometimes with reluctance and without conviction, sometimes with a determination that, in the end, yielded results. Some managers saw instruction in the mother tongue and the learning of a second language as being responsive to modernity. There are businesses—and more and more of them—who have realized the benefits of locating in a bilingual environment. Parents were quick to take advantage, for their children's sake, of the system of instruction by immersion. Studies show that people who learn another language easily will also learn other subjects more easily. For the employer, this is important because it sheds new light on the selection of human resources and the training plans he or she develops for their benefit (and then for his or her benefit). Finally, we saw minority communities find unexpected sources of success and empowerment in these new initiatives.

In international trade, for example, a knowledge of several languages is a prerequisite for success. Major treaties and trade agreements are drafted in English, but very often all the preparatory work and the multilateral negotiations are conducted in the vernacular languages.

Large firms are increasingly realizing the direct benefits of bilingualism for the development of their products and services. Thus, in the United States, for example, we see large firms offering their products in packages and with labels printed in two or three languages. Such an initiative costs little and its benefits are many. These firms have learned how to satisfy their diverse clients and earn profits at the same time.

It was pointed out that we in Canada have a linguistic infrastructure that gives us great flexibility in marketing our goods and services, including the many and complex services of language training and bilingual communications. This is one

of the 'selling points' of Canada. Internationally, we are increasingly defined as a being a bilingual country. This is an aspect of our uniqueness and is definitely a factor closely related to the economic dimension.

Investment in human capital

Language has also become an investment in human capital. There are certain cities—in New Brunswick, for example—which systematically capitalize on their bilingualism to attract businesses and do not hesitate to advertise for this purpose. Language skills are an advantage in themselves, and studies have shown that people who learn a second or even a third language will be able to acquire other skills more easily. It was also stated that people who are bilingual have a higher rate of participation in the labour force.

Another speaker made a distinction that he saw as basic between private and social bilingualism. Learning a second or third language is a personal decision that represents an intellectual and cultural enrichment. Social bilingualism is a matter of political will and commitment by the community. Through such a community initiative, learning a language can be converted into economic capital, and proficiency in this regard can be given a financially profitable orientation.

Regional characteristics

Naturally, with regard to languages, the situation differs from one region to another. It is important to take regional peculiarities into account and, in this regard, the municipalities have a key role to play. Bilingualism can provide us with a highly qualified labour force and, by the same token, we should not neglect the languages of other ethnic groups, so as to understand the contribution they make to the economic health of the community. We know that immigrants who know one (or both) of Canada's official languages find work more easily and earn higher salaries.

When the political and social infrastructure does not firmly support them, linguistic minorities are quickly assimilated. This leads to emigration. When, on the contrary, they are given the tools they need to ensure their preservation and vitality, linguistic minorities take themselves in hand and begin to contribute to the economic growth of their regions. To achieve such results, partnerships should be strengthened, from community centres to the highest levels of government.

In New Brunswick, we are beginning to see the results of certain efforts undertaken a quarter of a century ago by former premier Robichaud. As a result of a clear political will, concrete measures had to be taken. Accordingly, the French-language Université de Moncton was created. The Francophone community of this Atlantic province now has businessmen and businesswomen; above all, there is the

determination to put the minority to work and give it the required resources. Here, local entrepreneurship is of the utmost importance.

From the Acadian point of view, the colloquium switched to the Manitoba perspective. Manitoba must learn to exploit its bilingual character more effectively, but doing so requires—this is something that was repeated over and over—a firmly expressed political will. In the field of education, there were great strengths as long as educators enjoyed a margin of freedom, especially in the St. Boniface region. It would be appropriate now to see whether the Francophone community can begin to participate in the economy. The bilingual labour force, here as elsewhere, is an asset in terms of economic autonomy, but, in this province, there are still too few Francophone industries.

The accounts of particular cases—New Brunswick, Gaspé, Manitoba—raise interesting issues: is the implication that Quebec's policy promotes assimilation? Can we really develop ourselves as minorities using only our local or regional resources? Can all linguistic minorities receive systematic support? In any event, progress begins with the clear expression of goodwill by the provinces and is necessarily dependent on sound partnerships, as we saw earlier.

The short term

It is important to acknowledge the 'fact' of bilingualism. It is true that the phenomenon is not identical everywhere, that bilingualism is not 'monolithic', that it is an ambiguous reality, that it is necessary to promote a certain linguistic 'environment' that is specific to each region.

One participant restated the thesis that it is not possible to implement bilingualism in every region of the country and took up the concept of linguistic territoriality that he holds dear. He stated that the presence of a unilingual Anglophone in Montreal is an 'irritant', whereas the presence of a Francophone elsewhere in Canada is not. On the contrary, interjected a speaker from the Atlantic region, it is essential to take action on all fronts. We must concern ourselves with all linguistic minorities.

Conclusion

Linguistic assimilation still takes place today. Some regions give more cause for worry than others. Some participants in the colloquium firmly stated that complete bilingualism is unrealistic. Others favoured greater emphasis on the Francophone presence in Quebec and willingly grant English near-exclusivity elsewhere in Canada. It would seem, however, that most of the speakers wanted to highlight the merits of bilingualism for certain communities and the real benefits that the country as a whole can derive from it.

It also seems clear that the debate on bilingualism will continue uninterruptedly. We noted in the course of this colloquium, however, that the debate is making progress, that official languages policy has had victories and that the economic perspective at the end of the century gives it an orientation that is both new and very positive. Assimilation, as before, is troubling, but the individual successes of certain minority communities and the industrial and commercial dimension of bilingualism fill the air like the sound of bells not heard before.

Our linguistic diversity appears to be a considerable 'asset'. By developing bilingualism, we have improved our quality of life. This gives us a sense of belonging, of security of mind and of sharing. It improves our economic capacity. Some skills are important to economic growth, and linguistic knowledge is one of them. It opens the mind to the world and develops one's vision of things. Canada's bilingual experience increases its stature.

In conclusion, it must be noted that throughout the day, there were moments of strong emotion, the expression of condensed thinking, the fruit of thorough research and observation. There were also exceptional convergences, a renewal of thinking and, among some specialists, a kind of rebirth of interest.

Selected quotes from the colloquium

- It is important to use bilingualism more commercially.
- Economic activity is given impetus by bilingualism.
- The linguistic communities must be able to participate in the economic life of the country.
- Canada's expertise in language instruction is a factor and something to be marketed internationally.

Roger Collet

- Multinational firms are taking an interest in language training for economic reasons.
- Because of the movement of goods and services, the new Europe is taking an increasing interest in language training.
- While the major languages are essential, treaties and agreements are often negotiated in the vernacular languages.

Karim Karim

- The economics of language is a Canadian phenomenon, especially since the *Official Languages Act* of 1969.
- Canada is defined as being a bilingual country. This is part of what makes it unique. This should be seen as a "selling point."
- Bilingualism is not monolithic; it is a complex and ambiguous reality. What is important is to foster the appropriate linguistic environment for each region.

François Grin

- Can language, like distance, be an economic barrier?
- Language learning must be converted into financial capital. Language —initially a cultural and political phenomenon—has become an industry.
- Businesses are increasingly interested in bilingualism: satisfying the client while making profits.

Albert Breton

- Canada's linguistic infrastructure gives it flexibility in terms of marketing.

Gilles Grenier

- Language is an investment in human capital.
- People who are bilingual have a higher rate of participation in the labour force.
- There are certain cities that capitalize on their bilingualism to attract businesses.

Ghislain Savoie

- Immigrants who know Canada's official languages will have a better chance of finding work and earning a better salary.

Alice Nakamura

- Bilingualism can provide us with a highly qualified labour force.

François Vaillancourt

- The minority communities must protect their language by using specific resources: when these resources exist, they tend to contribute to the economy and this, in turn, promotes their language and culture.

George De Benedetti

- A qualified, bilingual labour force is an asset to economic growth.

Jean-Paul Gobeil

- We must put the linguistic minorities to work by providing them with the necessary resources.
- We must be concerned about all the minorities.
- We must acknowledge the "fact" of bilingualism and build upon it.

Maurice Beaudin

- We have improved our quality of life by developing our bilingualism.
- Bilingual skills contribute to the industrial sector.
- Learning another language means learning to analyse. This opens the mind to the world and develops our own vision of things.

Harold Chorney

Programme

Moderator:

Mr. Ned Ellis, Director, Strategic Research and Analysis, Corporate and Intergovernmental Affairs, Canadian Heritage

9:00 **Opening Remarks:**

Mr. Hilaire Lemoine, Director General, Official Languages Support Programs Branch, Canadian Heritage

Mr. Roger Collet, Assistant Deputy Minister, Citizenship and Canadian Identity, Canadian Heritage, *Departmental Perspective*

9:30 **Session 1**:

Languages and the Economy: Canada in an International Perspective

Mr. Karim H. Karim, Canadian Heritage, *Economic Dimensions of Minority and Foreign Language Use: an International Overview*

Mr. François Grin, Université de Genève, *European Research on the Economics of Language: Recent Results and Relevance to Canada*

Mr. Albert Breton, University of Toronto, *Reflections on Some Economic Aspects of Bilingualism*

11:00 **Session 2**:

Linguistic Competence, Investments and Impacts

Mr. Ghislain Savoie, Canadian Heritage, *The Comparative Advantages of Bilingualism on the Job Market: Survey of Studies*

Ms. Alice Nakamura, University of Alberta, and Ms. Emi Nakamura, *Official Language Implications of Immigration*

Mr. François Vaillancourt, Université de Montréal, *Economic Costs and Benefits of the Official Languages: Some Observations*

1:30 ***Moderator:***

Mr. Pierre Gaudet, Director, Policy, Analysis and Promotion, Official Languages Support Programs Branch, Canadian Heritage

1:45 **Session 3**:

Official Languages and the Economy: Community Perspectives

Mr. Maurice Beaudin, Université de Moncton, and Mr. George De Benedetti, Mount Allison University, *How Linguistic Minority Communities Contribute to the Economic Well-Being of Their Regions*

Mr. Jean-Paul Gobeil, Deloitte & Touche (Winnipeg), *The Two Official Languages and the Economy: A Manitoban Perspective*

3:00 **Session 4**:

Social and Economic Policy: a Distinction Without a Difference?

Mr. Gilles Grenier, University of Ottawa, *Reflections on the Relationship Between Languages and the Economy as applied to Canada*

Mr. Harold Chorney, Concordia University, *The Economic Benefits of Linguistic Duality and Bilingualism: the Political Economy Approach*

4:00 **Synthesis**

Ms. Sylvie Saint-Pierre Babin
Director General, Canadian Co-operative Council
President, Caisse populaire Saint-Raymond

Languages and the Economy: Canada in an International Perspective

Economic Dimensions of Minority and Foreign Language Use: An International Overview

KARIM H. KARIM
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Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to carry out an international review of economic approaches to the use of minority and foreign languages. Since the economic analysis of language is not a well established field of research, it will be necessary to dwell initially on some of the arguments put forward in support of such study. There are a number of economic dimensions that have been identified with regard to language use. Equal access to socio-economic opportunities for linguistic minorities has been an underlying feature of the Official Languages Policy of Canada. Governments have also emphasized benefits for international trade and commerce to be gained from learning foreign languages, and some have been fairly active in promoting their own national languages abroad. In many developing countries the debates are not so much about what foreign language to adopt—this has already been determined largely due to the colonial past and integration into international systems—but what other local languages will also be selected as national languages. Business firms, especially multinationals, appear to have been the most active in promoting the learning and use of foreign languages, mostly because they have recognized the impact that this has on the bottom line. The critiques of economic approaches to language policy point to the limitations of cost-benefit analyses in understanding the intangible benefits of language-learning, the importance of having comprehensive approaches, the marginalization of those languages that do not have apparent economic benefits, and the elitist and Eurocentric underpinnings of certain language policies.

This piece of research is not a comprehensive international survey, but an overview of instances in which the use of languages is seen as having economic value. Examples are drawn from a broad range of countries: Canada and the United States allow for study into the role of language in enhancing socio-economic opportunities for minorities; the European Union and Australia provide illustrations of how language is linked with trade policies; La Francophonie, the Commonwealth and the Arab League act as international language blocs that enhance commercial activity between member states; the choice of national languages in Tanzania, Hong Kong, Malaysia and Singapore show how, apart from political and cultural considerations, economics is also a key consideration; and the integrated European

marketplace shows how multinational companies have been encouraged to become more multilingual.

Economic analysis of language use: validity of the approach

Economic treatment of language is a relatively new area of study. In an article on "The Economic Approach to Minority Languages," François Grin (1990) provided a useful survey of a broad range of contributions of economists to language issues since the 1960s. An early study (1965) by J. Marshak attempted to respond to questions regarding the change and survival of languages: his answer was that "the languages that are most efficient will survive, the efficiency of a language being defined as the ability to transmit a certain amount of information in relatively less time than another language" (Grin, 1990: 154). While this approach was not supported by firm evidence, Grin notes that it was pioneering in that it looked at language as an object of "choice" geared towards a certain goal, thus linking it to the micro-economic theory concerning decisions made by individuals. Another functionalist approach proposed by J. Carr stated that money and language share similar characteristics: it suggested that just as money allows society to move beyond barter, a common language also facilitates transaction and lowers costs. A. Breton and P. Mieszkowski applied "the neo-classical international trade model and interpret[ed] the use of one common language as resource-saving technical progress" (*ibid*: 155). Breton explained how language could be conceptualized as a form of capital:

> "The acquisition of a second language requires time, effort and money. Since these resources are not abundant, they have economic value, or scarcity. The benefits resulting from knowledge of a second language are spread over time. Learning a second language therefore is an investment or the acquisition of an asset. More specifically, it can be said that a second (third or fourth) language is a form of human capital, capable, like all capital, of being increased or depreciating—although, unlike material goods, it does not deteriorate with use—or even of becoming outdated."[1]

Neil B. Ridler and Suzanne Pons-Ridler (1984) have also maintained that since languages face competition, they are subject to market economic analysis. "If languages are treated as *consumer goods* their demand and supply can be illustrated with graphs, which can be useful for evaluating government intervention in that market. If languages are an *investment* they will have a yield, which in turn will determine the language 'purchased'" (1984: 57). Extending this model further, the authors suggested that, as with other goods and investments, the spending by an individual on a particular language would decline if the costs and benefits of

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[1] Breton, 1978: 1-2.

competing items became more attractive. Such declines have been countered by governments through intervention in domestic and international language markets. Ridler and Pons-Ridler underlined, however, that while language economics could clarify issues and identify costs, it did not presume to offer a complete explanation of language policies—which were also motivated by cultural, national or social concerns. In a similar vein, Youssef Mahmoud stated that since language planning decisions are motivated and constrained mostly by sociolinguistics and political considerations, cost-benefit calculations should only be used as a supporting analysis for making informed choices rather than as a basis for a final decision. It is easier to identify and determine costs than to predict benefits of language policies simply because the latter tend to be intangible (1987: 36).

M. Lavoie has emphasized that a theoretical discussion on the economic dimensions of language should take into account the integral nature of language in an individual's identity. Hocevar tended to see language as both a form of human capital and ethnocultural identity. Grin suggested that instead of studying choices about language use in isolation they needed to be analysed in a more comprehensive manner that would allow the understanding of why such decisions are made. He called for a multi-disciplinary approach that allows the co-operation of economists with other social scientists (1990: 161). Grin also stated that language policies should recognize that subsidies for language goods in themselves were not sufficient to ensure the use of a language: offering better exposure to the minority language would yield ambiguous results unless such forms of subsidization were sensitive to the prices and wage rates offered on the labour market and a firm commitment was made to improving the image of the language (*ibid*: 171).

Another trend in the economic analysis of language has been to study the impact of individuals' linguistic skills on their income: thus wage differentials could be explained by discrimination on the part of employers against minority language speakers. Grin noted that:

> "sticking to one's minority language may imply the forgoing of earnings if minority language speakers are discriminated against; communication with majority language speakers may be seriously hampered; insisting on getting everything translated into the minority language also entails a money cost which will be borne indirectly by the individual. Thus a cost may theoretically be assigned to minority language use."[2]

Within the traditional concepts of economic rationality, individuals who have to bear such costs would decrease or even abandon their use of the language, unless they have made conscious choices to retain it. G. Grenier and C. Sabourin viewed

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[2] Grin, 1990: 160.

language in terms of human capital akin to formal schooling and professional experience which could enhance the individual's money-making ability.

Like Albert Breton, Ofelia Garcia and Ricardo Otheguy held that "languages are forms of capital used to negotiate social goods and benefits" (1994: 100). Whereas they indicated that "the value of languages is manifested not only as economic resources but also as repositories of literature and culture, instruments of sociopolitical integration, and indicators of sociopsychological identity" (*ibid*), their study showed that "the economic dimension has played a far greater role than the other aspects of linguistic value" (*ibid*). English has been associated with economic power, and non-anglophone European ethnolinguistic groups which have embraced it have largely been given opportunities as equal participants in American society.

> "It has only been in cases where the ethnolinguistic group has been deprived of easy access to economic integration—as in the case of African Americans, Native Americans, and Mexican Americans—that English has had to be forcefully imposed, an enterprise that has met with uneven success. For these groups, the value of the LOTE [language other than English], as a repository of their culture and as an indicator of socio-psychological identity, has been far greater than that of English, which in their case has not been associated with much economic gain."[3]

Since racial discrimination tended to eradicate the benefits that could have been gained through learning English, investments made in learning the language did not seem worthwhile to these groups.

Joshua A. Fishman's article on "Critiques of Language Planning" provided a review of neo-Marxist and post-structural critiques of classical language planning. According to Fishman, state planning on behalf of minority languages is criticized for:

- being conducted by elites that are governed by their own self-interest;
- reproducing rather than overcoming sociocultural and econotechnical inequalities;
- inhibiting cultural pluralism; and
- espousing world-wide westernization leading to a new sociocultural, econotechnical and conceptual colonialism (1994: 91).

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[3] Garcia and Otheguy, 1994: 100.

Fishman concluded that these criticisms have disregarded the fact that language planning practice has generally not been informed by language planning theory, which *has* sought to create a more egalitarian order. He held if efforts were not made by language planners as well as other socio-cultural planners to empower ethnolinguistic minorities, structural inequalities would continue.

The research carried out over the last three decades has demonstrated that it is possible to carry out economic analyses of language learning and use. However, economics is only one of the many dimensions of language that are required to study the issue. People persist—historical, cultural, social and political reasons—to learn and use languages that may be costly to maintain and provide few financial gains. Therefore, policymakers need to be mindful that even though economics is a vital element in language retention, other factors also play significant roles.

Language policies and socio-economic opportunities for minorities

Individuals who do not have a functional ability in an official language of their country (or region) of residence generally have limited socio-economic opportunities, depending on the type of career they wish to pursue. A government wanting to facilitate equality in the population will attempt to ensure that language is not a barrier. Imani N. Swilla, in discussing the choice of national languages and the media of instruction in the African context, argues that "it is important to ensure that every section of the population has equal access to socio-economic opportunities, otherwise *any* language can serve to create and encourage divisions in the population" (1992: 513). Governments seeking to enhance equality therefore cannot disregard the role of language as a key element of both their socio-economic and political integration.

A number of administrations have chosen to pursue directions that encourage citizens to learn the national language(s) and/or enhance the socio-economic profile of minority languages: economically speaking, the former addresses the supply side of the equation, and the latter the demand side. Canada has attempted to pursue the issue from both directions. The proportion of the Canadian population whose mother tongue is French has declined steadily from 29% in 1951 to 24.5 percent in 1991. This drop in native French-speakers is occurring within the context of a largely English speaking country and continent, leading to the potential diminution of socio-economic opportunities for francophones. The government has responded to this situation by intervening on both the demand and the supply side.

> "Demand for French has been increased by raising average yields of the language. The federal government has designated many jobs as bilingual, hence raising the marginal utility of French. It has also attempted to improve the status of French. The higher yield and demand for French are

> apparent as shown by the growing popularity of French immersion programmes for anglophones."[4]

Ottawa's intervention on the supply side has been to provide funding for French-language materials and translations, aid to educational and communications sectors, and language training for public servants.

American experiments to enable some minority groups to learn English in order to integrate them into the socio-economic mainstream do not seem to have worked, according to Roberta F. Stein (1990). She cites the case of Mexican Americans, who have suffered from an "achievement gap" manifested in low educational attainment and inadequate family income. The deficiency of this community in English has been blamed for its socio-economic failure; however, there has been a resistance on its part to make the linguistic shift. Stein points to structural factors such as social and economic class as being the root of the problem which inhibit progress on the part of the individual Mexican American. She holds that Mexican Americans would learn English if they felt assured that this investment would pay off. The American government had identified poverty as the primary problem in 1968, but its solution to create opportunities through learning English has not lifted the community out of its socio-economic situation.

> "If the problem is poverty, the solution is opportunity. If the schools are to be successful, the economy must be accessible, for the closing of the achievement gap depends on gaining access to the wider society."[5]

Therefore, it does not appear that teaching an ethnolinguistic minority the dominant language results automatically in socio-economic advancement. Other pertinent sociological issues also have to be dealt with simultaneously. In any case, Canada's empowerment of its francophone minorities seems to have been more successful in enhancing equity than the American attempts to anglicize its Hispanic minorities.

Trade and language

Most governments have long acknowledged that knowledge of the languages of the countries with whom they trade provides advantages. Nevertheless, the United States attempted to impose English on their Latin American partners as well as on other non-English speaking countries during and before World War I, without much success. Domestically, even though a substantial proportion of the American population spoke Spanish, it was classified along with other languages as a "foreign language." The Modern Languages Association, established in 1883, saw the aim

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[4] Ridler and Pons-Ridler, 1984: 62.

[5] Stein, 1990: 417.

of second language study to be "literary culture, philological scholarship, and linguistic discipline" (Garcia and Otheguy, 1994: 102). Languages have also been promoted in the United States for security reasons, with the study of German or Russian becoming popular in accordance with who was perceived to be the current enemy. However, there have also been American promoters of the value of learning languages for trade purposes. A 1932 article in a journal of the Spanish teaching profession stated:

> "Those of us who traveled or lived in Spanish America before 1914 saw how rapidly Germany was taking the lead in trade with these countries. One of the chief reasons for this was perfectly apparent. The German firms sent as agents and representatives only men who were trained in Spanish and who spoke the language fluently and had been given a good idea of the psychology of the people with whom they were dealing. Most English and American representatives did business through interpreters and constantly got into trouble of various kinds because of their ignorance of the language and customs of the people they had to do business with."[6]

This attitude appears to have largely persisted to the present, with few American businesspersons having the ability to speak the languages of the countries with which they deal. Arthur Whitehill, a professor of international management, cited this problem as being among the human problems that has led to the large American trade deficit, especially with East Asian countries (1988: 22-23). But the future seems to be brighter according to the Modern Languages Association since enrollments for Japanese, Chinese and Korean language courses in colleges have increased manifold.

The region of the world where there is currently an intensified level of linguistic activity is the European Union. Although the Union provides for a single marketing zone, its composite parts continue to insist on being linguistically and culturally diverse. In fact, within the European parliament, elected representatives of sub-national entities such as Catalonia and Wales are increasingly asserting their cultural and linguistic uniqueness. Discussing the structural changes that have influenced the public use of Welsh, Colin Williams remarked on how "in the economic development and countryside management fields we have excellent examples where capable individuals have ... insist[ed] on a greater emphasis for Welsh language affairs" (1994: 124) through European programs (e.g. the Leader Plan). Nigel B.R. Reeves, who has written extensively about language education for overseas trade, notes that "Europe is not a common market at all but a diverse market operating within broad, legally determined margins. In a world where the consumer is increasingly powerful, no wise company will choose to ignore that

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[6] Garcia and Otheguy, 1994: 103.

diversity" (1990: 65). The free cross-border movement of services, which has broad implications for commercial sectors such as banking, insurance, financial services, and transport will require greater knowledge of the languages of the region by people wishing to participate in the market that will comprise of some 450 million consumers by early next century.

Whereas English and French have been the dominant trade languages in Europe, German has emerged as a strong competitor. German politicians have sought to win greater official status for their language in the EU. With the unification of West and East Germany and the inclusion of Austria into the organization, German is now the mother tongue of 30 percent of its inhabitants. Most people in the former East Germany speak no other west European languages, although they were required to learn Russian—which is retaining some influence for historical reasons (Shipman, 1992: 69). The financial and industrial strength of Germany ensures that its language will gain importance, especially in eastern European countries which are reliant on the former for machine tools, electronically steered manufacturing systems and industrial vehicles, which they need to restore their decayed infrastructures.

> "It is difficult to imagine under these circumstances how German as the language of engineering—and, indeed, of the concomitant management and craft training schemes that will be required—can fail to be restored to its prewar status—or strengthened in its de facto postwar status—as the lingua franca of Eastern Europe."[7]

The German government has been aggressively promoting the learning of German abroad. When the number of students of German in non-German speaking countries fell to 15 million in 1986 from 17 million in 1976, Bonn was spurred into launching a promotional campaign emphasizing the language's commercial advantages (Shipman, 1992: 69). The national cultural foundation, the Goethe Institute, and the British Council have been retraining eastern Europe's corps of Russian tutors to teach German and English. These two languages are expected to achieve a duopoly in that region mirroring the English-French dominance in western Europe. According to the Human Resources Task Force of the European Union, 42 percent of the residents under 25 claimed some competence in English as a second language. A similar percentage is taught French as a second language.

In contrast, fewer than one in five European Union citizens outside Spain learn Spanish, even though the language ranks third worldwide in the number of native speakers (*ibid*). This is apparently because of the seeming lack of enthusiasm by the Spanish government to promote its national language abroad. In the grand

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[7] Reeves, 1990: 72.

duchy of Luxembourg, the most multilingual of European Union countries, the native tongue (Letzeburgesch) has been abandoned in favour of French and German. Other nations that speak "minority" languages have also developed the proficiency in multilingualism: Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, Sweden, and Finland boast the highest average numbers of foreign language speakers in the Union (*ibid*).

The influence of trade in determining the patterns of second-language acquisition in various parts of Europe is noteworthy. Since Britain's share of world exports of manufactured goods had slipped from nearly 25 percent in 1950 to less than 10 percent in the late 1970s, it has become concerned with increasing the teaching of foreign languages for trade purposes. In southern England, the closer commercial ties with France - especially with the building of the rail link under the English Channel - have ensured that French continues to be in greatest demand. In the industrial north it is German that dominates. The rising levels of trade with Japan and Arab countries have also prompted the creation of new posts for the study of Japanese and Arabic in British universities (Reeves, 1990: 71-72).

The Council of Europe has developed initiatives that facilitate the learning of foreign languages. Development of language training materials and teacher training are carried out by the Lingua program, which:

> "pays special attention to small companies, for which language skills may prove the vital difference in obtaining a foreign contract. If a UK company works with a clothing manufacturer in Portugal, the UK company may benefit from language learning materials developed with this sector in mind, materials funded partly by Lingua."[8]

The Petra initiative provides short-term training and organizes foreign-company placements for vocationally trained employees. This program was established in response to the concern that only university educated individuals were benefiting from the new arrangements in the Union. However, Alan Shipman, writing in *International Management*, sees these programs as being inadequate:

> "To ensure the success of the single labour market, national governments, Brussels officials and business will have to make concerted efforts to improve provision of language teaching at schools and in the workplace."[9]

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[8] Shipman, 1992: 71.

[9] *Ibid.*

The language policy of Australia has also been affected by its changing trade and immigration patterns (Bodi, 1994: 219-27). Whereas 75 percent of the country's trade in 1950 was with Britain, that same proportion has now shifted to Asian countries. As a result of this sea change in Australian trade, the government has adopted a policy identified as "Productive Diversity"—which refers to the economic asset derived from the country's multicultural nature and emphasizes fluency in the languages of export markets. One of the major thrusts of the Commonwealth government's language policy is to promote the learning of Asian languages considered to have economic advantages. A White Paper released by the Minister for Employment, Education and Training in 1991 stated that "Australia's location in the Asia-Pacific region and our patterns of overseas trade should continue to be a factor in this selection of priorities" (Government of Australia, 1991: 15). A study found "Mandarin Chinese, Japanese, Arabic, Indonesian, Korean, Thai, Spanish, German and French, in that order, as the languages most in demand in a trading environment" (*ibid*: 16). These as well as Aboriginal languages, Italian, modern Greek, Russian, Thai and Vietnamese were identified as "priority languages". The White Paper also noted that in the final year of high school, French (24 %) and Japanese were the most popular second languages being studied "while the remainder are studying any one of another 28 languages, often in very small numbers" (*ibid*: 15). The minister hoped to be able to raise the percentage of students learning languages other than English from the current 12 percent to 25 percent by the year 2000 (also see Baldauf, 1993).

However, there are several criticisms of the treatment of language in the Productive Diversity policy. Australian scholars such as J.J. Smolicz, Uldis Ozolins and Marianne Bodi are concerned that the current focus on the commercial nature of languages is disregarding the fact that they are also used by various minority communities and that the policy to maximize the economic benefits of languages is marginalizing those languages that do not offer apparent trade advantages.

> "There is ... a danger that the short-sighted intepretation of 'economic relevance' may place a wedge between languages that are actually spoken in the Australian community and those languages which are labelled as 'foreign', 'trade', and 'Asian'. The existence of languages that are both Asian and community is often ignored by the catch-cry of 'trade', and the simplistic belief in a relationship between the acquisition of an elementary knowledge of a foreign language and an automatic trade surplus with the country concerned. Supposed 'insufficient trade' is used as a device to ignore Vietnamese, Khmer and Lao languages, which are spoken at home by many Australian citizens and are on the threshold of becoming trade languages of the future."[10]

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[10] Smolicz, 1992: 21-22.

The present emphasis on learning of trade-related Asian languages is also serving to marginalize smaller European ethnolinguistic groups in Australia. It is noteworthy, nevertheless, that despite the relatively low priority of French as a 'trade language', it was the second-language choice of almost a quarter of Australian high school students—this can be attributed to the *cultural* rather than the economic value that is placed on learning it.

Economic dimensions of the international language blocs

There are several groupings of countries that have formed economic, cultural and/or political blocs on the basis of a common language. The Commonwealth of Nations, La Francophonie and the Arab League are the major examples. There is presently an initiative afoot to establish an organization called the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries (CPLP—Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa) comprising Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Portugal, and San Tome and Principe (de Melo, 1995). The Commonwealth and La Francophonie are composed largely of members that were colonies of Britain and France, respectively, and continue to use English or French as national languages. A common language and culture, even an administrative culture inherited from a common colonial past, facilitates economic development and trade links between countries. Interpretation and translation costs are eliminated and exchanges between people can be carried out at many levels.

The Commonwealth has 50 self-governing nations, plus various colonies and protectorates of Britain. This international organization has its roots in the British Commonwealth of Nations formally established in 1931 and consisting of Britain, Canada, Newfoundland and Australia. As Britain's colonies in Africa, Asia and the Caribbean gained independence, most remained members of the organization. Apart from the principles of world peace, social understanding and racial equality, economic development is a key concern of the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth distributes aid from the developed to the developing member countries and sponsors many economic, social and educational programs. The Colombo Plan of 1950 was a pioneering effort in international developmental assistance. The Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation is now the chief means of channelling aid to developing countries.

The League of Arab States was created in 1945 and has 21 members in northern Africa, the Horn of Africa, the Arabian peninsula and the Levant. Unlike the Commonwealth and La Francophonie, the Arab League is a regional organization; but like them its participants share a common language. Arabic and a common cultural heritage has allowed its members, many of whom were previously colonies or protectorates of France, Britain and Italy to come together. The League fosters cultural, economic and communications ties and mediates disputes among member states. Possession of a common language has allowed large numbers of

professionals from the countries with more educated pools of labour to work in those with less skilled personnel. Wealthier Arab countries channel aid to poorer ones through the League's Arab Fund for Social and Economic Development and the Arab Bank for Agricultural and Industrial Development. Trade and economic exchanges between members are facilitated by reducing internal tariffs and establishing common external tariffs and through the League's arms such as its air transport organization and tourist union.

La Francophonie, more than the Commonwealth or the Arab League, is based on speaking the same language. It consists of 47 countries in the Americas, Europe, Africa and the Asia-Pacific, several of whom were not colonies of France. The 1980 edition of the *Annuaire de la francophonie* stated:

> "These states come together largely because of their use of French ...; their goal is to develop the educational, culture, sciences and technologies of each member-state, fully respecting the sovereignty of the states and in a spirit of strict equality and complementarity of activities with those carried out by governments, international organizations, etc."[11]

La Francophonie has emerged as a key means of international cooperation in development activities. The formal origins of this organization can be traced to the founding in 1970 of l'Agence de coopération culturelle et technique (ACCT). This agency remains the vital operational arm of La Francophonie as new ones such as the international television network TV5, a network of universities using French and an international university of the French language in Senegal have been added. The sectors for ACCT's priority activities are: agriculture, energy, the environment, culture and communications, scientific and technological information, university research and cooperation, juridical cooperation, education and training, and economic development.

In the face of increasing worldwide anglicization, especially in the market economy, France is also making other efforts through its cultural agency, the *Alliance française*, to promote French. It is seeking particularly to ensure that the use of the language is preserved in former colonies like Vietnam.

> "The visit of President François Mitterand to Hanoi in February [1993] encouraged the already-active Francophones. French government agencies and independent organisations are providing health, education and business programmes for locals. Vietnam's television and radio offer French lessons, subsidised by France. It is possible to be paid to learn French in Hanoi, through generous French-government scholarship schémes. Teachers, as

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[11] Quoted by Pelletier, 1985: 689.

> well as students, are subsidised. The French government offers French nationals living in Vietnam half-price return fares to Paris."[12]

Such programs feed the supply side of La Francophonie, whose institutions provide the demand for continued international exchanges in French. However, the real test for each country is the economic viability of the use of French at the domestic level, along with its intangible benefits deriving from the cultural, historical and political dimensions of the language.

National development and the choice of language

The choice of the international language(s) that developing countries adopt as official languages has usually been dependent on the identity of the former colonizer. Most former colonies of Britain continue to use English, those of France French and those of Spain Spanish; however, former colonies of Italy, the Netherlands and Portugal are increasingly beginning to utilize English in their international communication. The previously dominant Russian in eastern Europe is being challenged by English and German, and in the former southern Soviet republics by English, Turkish and Farsi (Persian). Unlike the colonies of the western European countries, some of the former members of the Soviet Union are choosing to give official status to their respective local languages. This has led to protests from Moscow, especially towards the Baltic states, which have significant Russian minorities (Ozolins, 1994: 167-68).

The choice of an international language by a country has huge economic implications since it determines to a significant extent with what other countries it will be linked. Materials produced in that international language—including news, technical innovations, cultural texts etc.—become more accessible to inhabitants of the country, while those produced in other languages have to be translated. The accessibility of products to external markets is similarly affected. The decision is usually influenced by a combination of the factors of economics, politics, history and culture as well as encouragement from a dominant user of international languages, such as France, Britain, the United States and Russia to adopt and/or retain its language.

Most developing countries are attempting to use both their respective native languages and the languages of their respective colonizers, as official languages. As Imani N. Swilla notes, "African languages are important for identity and languages of the former colonizers are still vital for wider communication and access" (1992: 513). Tanzania has attempted more vigorously than most African countries to give a high profile to a local language, Swahili, as a national language.

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[12] The Economist, 1993: 28.

Swahili offered several advantages in that the majority of the population was familiar with it and it was shared with neighbouring countries. Even the British colonial authorities used it as a secondary language, and played a role in its spread from the east African coast, where it originated, to the hinterland. Swahili has been the primary language of instruction in the country's educational system at elementary levels and a major effort has been made to use it in science and technology as well. However, this is a difficult and expensive task for a country with limited financial resources.

Whereas the decision of Tanzania along with that of neighbours such as Kenya and Uganda to adopt Swahili as a national language has been largely uncontroversial, other developing countries are facing major debates regarding which local languages will be given the status of national languages. Owing to the nature of colonization that often created countries composed of a number of ethnolinguistic groups, most former colonies have populations that speak several different languages. This has created competition between supporters of various languages to be given national or regional status, which at times has led to debates that have been more fierce than those regarding the choice of an international language.

The issue of integrating diverse populations into a national identity distinct from that of the colonizer is an important one for many Asian and African countries. In Hong Kong, which will return from British rule to Chinese in 1997, the language debate has focused on what kind of Chinese will be taught in schools in addition to English. The major choices are between Cantonese, which is spoken widely in the Hong Kong region, and Putonghua, which is the official language of China. Supporters of the latter highlight economic as well as the political and pedagogical benefits leading up to reunification with China (Kwo, 1989: 297).

Malaysia, a former colony of Britain, has long debated the value of learning Bahasa Malaysia or English as a national language in addition to other local languages. Along with a variety of indigenous ethnolinguistic groups spread over a number of islands, Malaysians also include significant proportions of people with origins in China and India.

> "Bahasa Malaysia is seen as an agent of unification and if the non-Malay groups are to be bilingual then they should be Malay-knowing bilinguals rather than English-knowing bilinguals. However, ... many feel that English is a necessary tool for development and that the future prosperity of the country requires at least a substantial minority of the population to be bilingual in English and Malay."[13]

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[13] Ozóg, 1993: 71.

India, also a part of the former British empire and possessing a vast ethnolingual diversity, has, on the other hand, used the language of the former colonizer for purposes of national integration. Even though Hindi is understood by a large section of the population in the north, it is not common in southern parts of the country.

English has a similar role in Singapore which has adopted an "English-knowing bilingualism" (Pakir, 1993: 86). This kind of bilingualism, which in effect results in a multilingualism, is defined as proficiency in English and one other official language of the country (Chinese, Malay or Tamil).

> "Over a period of time, in line with modernisation and technologising of the island through English, the language has assumed an importance in status and position not shared by the other co-official languages. The management of success in Singapore is directly related to the ascendancy of English in the world today and the widespread use of the language in Singapore, allowing it to plug itself into the international grid of business and finance."[14]

The small South-East Asian country has managed in this way to reap economic benefits as well as promote social harmony among its dominant Chinese and Malay and Indian communities. A strong national identity has been built through the cognizance of the dominantly Malay region in which Singapore is located and of the larger world of economic survival. However, the island state's particular bi/multi-lingual policy that has given pre-eminence to English has helped foster its technological revolution. Pakir notes that "there is growing concern that traditional values and belief systems may have been sacrificed somewhat along the way" (ibid: 87).

Languages and the private sector

International business has recognized that whereas English is widely spoken around the world, knowledge of local languages is frequently necessary for successful business transactions in foreign countries. Michael Skapinker noted in *International Management*:

> "It is true that more and more business people speak English. But when those same business people are buying rather than selling, many now insist on doing business in their own language... They can rightly insist that their

[14] Pakir, 1993: 86.

> language be used, and they will have a great advantage in any negotiation."[15]

Many Western companies make the mistake of appointing local managers for their branch offices in foreign countries because of their ability to speak English rather than their business competency. Speaking the local language, apart from demonstrating sincerity and commitment to establishing commercial links with the country, enables visitors to establish social contacts which are vital in business. It also enables the negotiator to be aware of the precise details of agreements. Key information can be missed in meetings even when interpreters in the local language are present, because they may be only translating the gist of the discussions.

The status of English as the dominant international language seems to have created a false sense of security among businesses in anglophone countries that they can take advantage of global commercial opportunities without learning other languages. Claude Truchot cites the example of General Motors France whose American director general operated entirely in English (1990: 94). In the United States, languages other than English are more valuable in ethnic and small businesses and for clerical positions rather than in large corporations and for managers and executives (Garcia and Otheguy, 1994: 99). And despite the Australian government's encouragement of the business use of languages other than English, Australian firms appear to be giving the latter a low priority (Stanton et al., 1992: 414). This attitude may have developed because of the increasing adoption of English as the premier international language of business by multinationals headquartered even in countries where English is not a dominant mother tongue (Truchot, 1990: 77-94).

Paradoxically, just as the global status of English is becoming more entrenched there has been a growing recognition in Britain of the economic advantage of knowing foreign languages. According to Reeves (1990: 61), in the 1970s there was only modest acknowledgement of the connection between successful foreign marketing and knowledge of foreign languages by exporting teams. Commercial counsellors in British embassies lamented that vital chances were being missed through a lack of foreign language expertise and unavailability of promotional material in languages other than English. A 1978 survey of 200 companies confirmed the low standing of languages in their recruitment policies and executives' qualifications. Conversely, it also showed a positive correlation between the firms that had won export awards and their employment of people with language skills (*ibid*: 62). A 1980 study of domestic employment opportunities found that apart from jobs in translation and interpretation there was also a rising demand for foreign-language knowledge in secretarial, technical/scientific,

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[15] Skapinker, 1986: 39.

managerial/sales, media, community, and research/library positions (Morris, 1980: 110-112). This situation, prompted by the increasing integration of Britain into the European market appears to have spurred private sector initiatives to facilitate the learning and use of foreign languages. An extensive survey of 1150 companies carried out between 1984 and 1987, which compared results to earlier data, found that there was a significant increase in foreign language use.

> "Of all firms, 75 percent surveyed stated that they had used one or more foreign languages in recent years, but, most telling of all, an average of 44 percent of companies across Britain admitted that they could have significantly improved their trade performance had they had access to appropriate foreign language competencies and facilities. This is a remarkable turnaround in perception, especially when we note that the majority of those companies reporting deficiencies in foreign language capacity either produced largely for the U.K. domestic market or exported principally to English-speaking markets."[16]

French has long been in greatest demand among foreign languages in British business (Lee, 1976: 47). Closer trading ties with France since Britain joined the European Economic Community have increased the value of knowing the language among British firms. The location of branch plants and subsidiaries of French companies has also enhanced the status of French in Britain. An example is the French-owned Peugeot-Talbot automobile plant based in Coventry.

> "Here it is regarded as essential that the maximum number of employees learn French in order to communicate successfully with their counterparts in France. But the language-learning program is not directed toward a set group of mechanical language forms; it is an instrument for introducing the learners to French culture, way of life, and management style."[17]

The reverse is also true as British companies expand into the continent. When the chocolate manufacturer Rowntree-Mackintosh took over the Swiss multinational Nestlé, its executives realized that French was essential to participate effectively in meetings at the Swiss headquarters despite the formal use of English.

The establishment of the European Union has created a new situation where knowledge of foreign languages offers potentially higher economic yields for individuals than was previously the case. Employers in the EU increasingly look for candidates who speak up to three languages (Shipman, 1992: 69), who seem to come mostly from Scandinavia, the Netherlands and Belgium:

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[16] Reeves, 1990: 62.

[17] *Ibid.*, 69.

> "successful Euro-executives are people who, as a result of possessing as their mother tongue a minority language such as Danish, Swedish, or Flemish/Dutch and/or through growing up in a multicultural and multilinguistic society, have easily developed linguistic competence in several languages and have evolved a natural sensitivity toward cultural distinctions and others' values and perceptions. For the manager of the transnational company no less than for the traditional export executive, then, linguistic proficiency forms the basis for that other essential quality, interculturality."[18]

Learning languages for business purposes has steadily grown over the last few years. In 1992, the year that the Maastricht Treaty was signed, demand for foreign language travel increased by 200 percent in Britain—despite the country being in an economic recession (Shipman, 1992: 71). In countries such as Germany there have developed associations that regularly meet to discuss the problems of teaching and learning foreign languages in industry and commerce (Freudenstein, 1981: 1).

The German multinational Osram's "insistence on approaching each market in the local language has helped lift it to number three in the world lighting products market" (Shipman, 1992: 69). On the other hand, far fewer Germans speak English than is assumed.

> "In Germany in the 1950s and 1960s, U.S. and British businessmen could afford to have a take-it-or-leave-it attitude to learning German," recalls John D. Brennan, general manager of the American Chamber of Commerce there. "But that has all changed," he says, "partly because of new pressure from Asian competitors. The Japanese are speaking very good German and so are the Koreans. You have to follow the competition," he says.
> That competition is worldwide. Shim Chang Sup, who heads the Korean Trade Centre in Colombia, says his staff used to get by with a mixture of English and Spanish. "But most recently we are emphasizing the need to deal with Colombians in Spanish, no matter if they speak English."[19]

Despite their interest in learning English, the Chinese insist that a knowledge of Mandarin is essential when doing business in their country. Meetings in government ministries in various South-East Asian countries that award contracts to foreign companies are routinely conducted in local languages, making an understanding of these languages necessary for those who wish to do business with them (*ibid*). In France, government policy discourages the public use of any language other than French.

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[18] Reeves, 1990: 67.

[19] Shapinker, 1986: 39.

Le Forum francophone des affaires (FFA) works with La Francophonie to create "l'espace économique francophone." Its aims are:

> "to draw new economic boundaries based on solidarity, common culture and business partnership in resistance to the linguistic and cultural standardization to which the globalization of markets is leading us."[20]

FFA seeks to engender cooperation and alliances between businesspersons in the member states of La Francophonie. A major initiative of FFA is the development of La Banque d'information des gens d'affaires (BIGA), which is a private computer network disseminating information to the business sector in French-speaking countries.

French ranks second on computer networks, next to the overwhelming dominance of English. It affords commercial participants on the Information Highway a sheltered space from American hegemony. The language also provides a closed network for francophone companies in which to operate since translation is generally inhibited by the time-sensitive nature of the information provided by computer network servers.

> "A French server is primarily a server that disseminates French information.... It is also a server that provides this information by means of an interface (man-machine dialogue) which is itself available in French; finally, it is documentation in French and French interlocutors. In short, a complete information chain in French, very useful to our non-English-speaking fellow citizens."[21]

Additionally, nationally relevant information such as juridical material based on France's legal system—as opposed to scientific material—is only of practical relevance to its inhabitants and is thus produced only in French. A former British managing director of the SEMA Group, the pan-European computing services company, noted, "even though the official language of the group is English, on important matters people have to communicate in their native languages" (Reeves, 1990: 69). The French government's insistence that consumers be served in French has also required multinationals such as the American companies IBM and Apple to provide their software in the language of this important market (Truchot, 1990: 76).

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[20] Liaison FFA, 1994: 1.

[21] Spagnou, 1994: 20.

Conclusion

It is clear that learning languages is a growth industry around the world. The formation of trading blocs such as the European Union and the North American free trade zone as well the growing integration of the global marketplace is increasing the demand for learning languages, especially from businesspersons who would participate in these new economies. Governments are also realizing that they need to buttress the foreign language component of school curricula. Canada, which has developed the elaborate infrastructure of a language industry that includes immersion programs beginning at kindergarten, training of language instructors, production of textual and audio-visual aids, and translation and interpretation facilities, currently has a unique opportunity to export these kinds of expertise.

Being a member of the Commonwealth and La Francophonie, this country also has the advantage of potentially creating strong commercial ties with a large number of countries in Europe, Africa, Asia and Australasia. The Official Languages Policy and Canada's participation in La Francophonie have served to ensure, domestically and internationally, the demand for and the supply of French. Even though this paper has sought to study the economic dimensions of language use, it is apparent that people do not learn French only for economic reasons. While language planners are under constraints to demonstrate the monetary costs and benefits of policies and programs, they would be wise not to disregard the high cultural value that is placed on acquiring the use of this language.

Whereas Canada has a key advantage in having the two most widely spoken languages in the world as its official languages, it is clear that its businesspersons, like Euro-executives, will also have to acquire a working level of third languages to become more successful in the international marketplace. Canadians involved in international development will have also recognized that whereas developing countries have largely retained the languages of former colonial powers, they are also attempting to maximize economic and other advantages through the use of local languages. However, Australia's controversial language policy offers some valuable lessons. An emphasis on "trade languages" that does not account for the languages actually used in the country can potentially marginalize ethnolinguistic groups without necessarily improving trade performance. A thoughtful, long-term program that would enable Canadians to acquire proficiency in languages in addition to English and French would take into consideration the demands of international markets as well as the domestically available supply of these third languages.

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European Research on the Economics of Language: Recent Results and Relevance to Canada

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Introduction

The economics of language is currently an emerging field of research in Europe. Canadian researchers, followed by American ones, are unquestionably the authors of the lion's share of literature on the economics of language, and European works, to date, are the product of a very small number of researchers. Nevertheless, the latter have in recent years been responsible for a number of developments that in many cases represent a departure from North American research, whether from Canada or the United States. In addition, various organizations and associations, directed not toward scientific research as such but toward action on language policy in the European context, are becoming increasingly aware of the influence that economic variables can have on linguistic issues—and, in some cases, of reciprocal causality. They are accordingly contributing to the emergence of a demand for works where this type of relationship is examined. For all these reasons, there is justification for summarizing the current state of European research on the economics of language.

However, before reviewing currently available works and discussing their relevance to Canadian issues, we should clarify a number of terms in order to precisely define the limits of this paper.

I define the economics of language as follows (1994a):

> "The economics of language falls within the paradigm of theoretical economics and applies the usual concepts and instruments of economic sciences to the study of relationships where linguistic variables appear; it is particularly, but not exclusively, interested in relationships in which traditionally economic variables also play a role."

This definition is based on the principle that economics is not so much characterized by the topics with which it deals as with the method by which it deals with them. This principle, implicit in the fundamental definition of economic science proposed as early as 1932 by Lionel Robbins, was reaffirmed more recently by Gary Becker (1976). In this sense, the application of economic reasoning to linguistic issues is part of the economics of language, even if traditionally economic

variables such as wages, quantities of goods exchanged on international markets, the gross domestic product, etc. do not explicitly figure in it.

It should also be noted that, by this definition, the economics of language may have as much interest in the impact of linguistic variables on economic variables (for example, the role that language plays in determining earnings) as in the reverse relationship (for example, the impact of the intensification of international trade on the spread or decline of various languages).

In speaking of 'European' research, I refer to a geographical criterion: the Europe in question is not limited to the fifteen member states of the European Union, but includes the entire continent, including the British Isles. Since researchers from one side of the Atlantic nowadays frequently spend relatively long periods of time on the other, it can be said that the distinction between Europe and North America is somewhat artificial. Without claiming to resolve this question, I have chosen the academic affiliation of researchers as a criterion, either at the present time or at the time of the publication of the works mentioned here.

Section 2 of this survey therefore presents the scientific work done to date by European researchers. These contributions are arranged in five groups. For lack of space, I will limit my presentation to indicating a few results and to highlighting the parallels with and divergences from North American research. A more detailed review of the entire literature on the economics of language may be found in Grin (1994a, to be published). Section 3 briefly reports on the activity currently under way in Europe from a practical point of view; it is evidence of growing interest in analytical works on the economics of language. Section 4 attempts to point out the characteristics of European works that might have some relevance to the development of Canadian research in this area. The paper ends with a brief conclusion.

Orientations of European research

Since there are relatively few persons engaged in research on the economics of language, especially in Europe, one is tempted to survey the field by authors rather than by themes. In fact, within the European context, it is impossible to speak of "schools" of research on the economics of language. Moreovèr, at the time of writing, it was barely one or two years ago that European researchers began to familiarize themselves with one another and to take one another's work into account.

However, I retain a thematic division here because it facilitates comparison with North American research. The division into subthemes parallels the division I am proposing elsewhere (Grin, to be published). For the same reason, this kind of presentation seems preferable to a chronological one: simply by virtue of the

emerging character of the research, it is not yet possible to speak of the development over time of lines of analysis by a succession of authors. While I hope to provide a fairly comprehensive account of European work, it is not deemed exhaustive, if only because such a goal depends on very delicate choices in terms of including or excluding certain works.

(a) Empirical analysis of the relationship between language and labour earnings

The economic literature on language concerns itself with the role that language plays (whether it is the mother tongue of individuals, which may be regarded as an ethno-cultural characteristic, or conversely, linguistic skills in non-mother-tongue languages, which may be regarded as elements of human capital) in determining earnings or in explaining salary differentials among members of separate linguistic communities.

This aspect of the research is, moreover, very dominant in North America. The works of Vaillancourt, Grenier, Chiswick, etc. may be cited (e.g., Vaillancourt, 1992; Grenier, 1988; Chiswick, 1991). Such is not the case, however, in European research. To my knowledge, the first article in this field is barely a year old (Dustmann, 1994) and concerns German data. It analyses the role of oral and written skills in German in determining the earnings of *Gastarbeiter* in Germany, controlling not only for the usual variables of an earnings equation, but also for various sociological information such as the origin of the persons in question. This contribution is very close, in both methods and references, to North American and especially United States works, and therefore cannot be regarded as characteristic of a specifically European perspective.

On a very closely related topic, the current works of the author of this paper (Grin, 1995b, 1995c), thanks to data gathered for the first time in Switzerland, explore several aspects of the relationship between linguistic skills, linguistic identification and labour earnings. The data differ from Canadian and American data in that the level of skills in non-mother-tongue languages are differentiated by nature (listening, speaking, reading, writing) and by degree: four separate level of skills are identified ('flawless or nearly so,' 'good in most situations,' 'poor' and 'absent or nearly so'). Linguistic skills are therefore located on a 4 by 4 matrix. Objectivity concerning degrees of skill is ensured by means of examples that make it possible to reduce the measurement errors associated with uncontrolled self-evaluation.

Initial results confirm that linguistic skills contribute significantly to labour earnings among men. However, it is not necessarily the same levels and types of skills that are best rewarded by the market, depending on the language in question. Thus, knowledge of French by German-speaking Swiss, or knowledge of German by French-speaking Swiss results in premiums of from 6.2 to 14.2%, depending on

the type of skill in question. However, the premiums associated with knowledge of English are higher and more stable, all being between 13.6 and 16%.[22] Detailed review of these data, whose collection is yet to be completed, has barely begun.

(b) Spread, survival and decline of languages

The second area in which European research is active is that of the determinants of the dynamics of languages. In general, the languages in question are those of the traditional minorities, often referred to as "territorial," as opposed to languages resulting from immigration. In general, therefore, these are languages that enjoy relatively significant recognition by national authorities, such as Catalan, Basque, Irish, Frisian, Welsh, etc.

To my knowledge, the first article on this subject is my attempt to discuss the use of a minority language as an activity of a Beckerian type (Grin, 1990a, 1990b). This approach makes it possible to position linguistic practice as the result of a utility maximization by people who must divide their limited time between different activities that may be carried on in the majority or the minority language. The model, naturally, is subject to the limitations of the Beckerian theory of time allocation, namely, the assumption of constant output in the production functions of commodities (here, 'activities') and the assumption of the absence of joint production. The model makes it possible, however, to position linguistic practice as an endogenous variable, unlike the assumption underlying most North American research.

Elsewhere (Grin, 1992, 1993b), I propose a model of the same problem in which the relevance of the concept of 'survival thresholds' for minority languages, which is often encountered in socio-linguistic literature, is particularly called into question. The model indicates that, while such thresholds can be formally defined, they cannot be reduced to unidimensional indicators such as the percentage of speakers of a minority language at any given time.

This type of model, combined with one by Carr (1985), allows us to examine the probable consequences of a single European market for the survival conditions of traditional minority languages (Grin, 1993a). It demonstrates that not all minority languages will be affected in the same way by European economic integration and that some of them (e.g. Catalan and Basque) will find themselves in a more favourable situation, while the opposite may be true for other languages such as Breton, Irish or Ladin in the Dolomite region.

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[22] These percentages (slightly higher than the coefficients of the Mincerian semi-logarithmic equations adopted for the estimate) apply to persons whose knowledge of a language is "flawless or nearly so" or "good in most situations," compared to persons who have no knowledge of the language in question. All these figures are significant to 99%.

In an article written in co-operation with the American Pool, a specialist in linguistic policy modelling, German economist Selten (co-winner of the Nobel Prize for economics in 1994) examines the learning of foreign languages from the standpoint of game theory (Selten and Pool, 1991). The observed levels of skill in various foreign languages may then be seen as the expression of a Nash equilibrium that depends on the respective level of communicational rewards and the costs of learning each of the languages in question.[23]

(c) Language and economic activity

European works concerning the impact of a certain linguistic environment on economic activity (or on the reciprocal relationship) are also marked by the minority issue. This area is, all things considered, a "speciality" of European research in the sense that North American work is proportionately less well represented in it.

We may mention here the work of O Cinnéide and Keane (1988) for Irish, or of Sproull and Ashcroft (1993) for Scottish Gaelic. After a discussion on the special methodological problems posed by language in the context of an evaluation procedure (e.g., what criteria define the 'Gaelic economy'?), they show that levels of production, of domestic income and of employment benefit from public spending for the promotion of minority languages. Thus, for Scotland as a whole, the approximately £8.6 million spent by public authorities result in a supported demand for goods and services of £10.5 million. The ratio of this total to the initial commitment of resources therefore yields a multiplier effect of 2.22, which is quite respectable, especially considering that it does not include the non-material benefits related to preservation of the language in a variety of "areas" in the socio-linguistic sense of the term. In terms of jobs, the multiplier effect on work positions in full-time equivalents is 1.57.[24]

Aside from these works of a macroeconomic nature, there are a number of works on more specific issues. Some are concerned with communication between businesses and their markets. Great Britain's Holden (1987) reviews no fewer than 463 articles published in general marketing, industrial marketing, international

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[23] A model recently developed by two Canadian authors (Church and King, 1993) may be regarded as a special case of the Selten and Pool model.

[24] These figures do not include the specific sector of Gaelic-language television. The expenditure multiplier shows the same order of magnitude (2.12), while the jobs multiplier (subject to problems of measurement and definition) shows an astonishingly high value, since the six direct jobs give rise to 272 indirect ones. The basic question, however, is as follows: all other things being equal, how does the government "linguistic" expenditures multiplier compare to the multiplier associated with other expenditures?

business management and advertising proper; only 18% of them mention the question of language and, moreover, do no more than note its importance, without attempting analysis. Grin (1994b) models the required conditions, in terms of intercommunity attitudes, purchasing power and the impact of advertising expenditures on market shares, for a firm that operates in a bilingual market (such as Montreal, because of the French-English duality; Barcelona, with Spanish and Catalan; Aberystwyth, with English and Welsh, and even New York, where Spanish plays a growing role alongside English) to benefit from switching from unilingual to bilingual advertising.

Recent Dutch works (Pellenbarg, 1993; van Langevelde, 1994), using data collected by means of a questionnaire from a sample of firms, examine the extent to which regional linguistic features (in this case, the support given by provincial authorities to preservation of the Frisian language) affect, positively or negatively, the decision by firms to locate in this region. They conclude that, while Frisian enjoys a positive image among company directors, this has more to do with reputation-related factors that are not linked to language; in general, the language is considered a factor of negligible importance, and in this case, as a slight nuisance.

(d) Communication between linguistic groups

The problem of efficient communication between the members of different linguistic communities has been modelled essentially by political scientists using rational choice theory or game theory. From this standpoint, the Catalan Colomer (1991) proposes a formalization of the process that determines the language in which a conversation between persons of different mother tongues who meet by chance may take place. The outcome, naturally, depends on the linguistic skills of the various persons, and it is re-examined under the assumption of five different types of social standards governing intercommunity linguistic adaptation. The same author examines the impact that these different standards may have on the emergence or non-emergence of segregation between speakers of different languages (1992).

Finally, Colomer (to be published) compares the social efficiency, of the plurilingualism of individuals in a pluricultural society to the generalized resort to translation services between unilingual members of different communities. He concludes (in the context of assumptions that necessarily simplify reality) that, as long as a state has no more than five different linguistic communities, the generalized teaching of a second language is more economically efficient than the development of generalized translation services. This result continues to hold true beyond ten different languages, if each resident knows not one but two languages in addition to his mother tongue.

(e) Selection, design and evaluation of linguistic policies

The first European economist to take an interest in linguistic questions was Thomas Thorburn of Sweden, whose single contribution to this field, published in 1971 in a collective work on socio-linguistics, was concerned with the possibilities and limitations of applying cost-benefit analysis to language policy. In it he issues a warning about the considerable problems in assessing costs, and particularly benefits, that are highly complex.

However, Grin (1995a) proposes to circumvent these problems by using the assumptions of environmental economics, which propose a variety of techniques (indirect evaluation, contingent evaluation) to estimate complex commodities, with which what I call the *linguistic environment* has much in common. Application of these techniques can both justify and calibrate expenditures by public authorities on language policy, as for the protection and promotion of threatened languages (Grin, 1993c).

To summarize, it can be said that European research on the economics of language, compared to Canadian or American research, has five principal characteristics:

- first, it is done by a very small number of researchers, whereas Canadian and American researchers on linguistic issues are relatively more numerous;

- second, it can be regarded as less monolithic, since it is divided into a number of relatively balanced areas (judging from the number of publications in each theme), whereas North American research is very much dominated by econometric work on the linguistic determinants of labour earnings;

- third, "minority" issues play a major role in it because of the cultural and sometimes political role that communities such as the Catalans, Basques, Irish, etc. play. The almost complete absence of North American research on the economics of language concerning the situation of Amerindian languages may be seen as a contrary tendency—unless, of course, the many works on French in Quebec or elsewhere in Canada are regarded as relating to minority issues.[25]

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[25] To the author, it would seem warranted, in terms of the economics of language, to analyse French in North America as a minority language. Declarations of a political nature, such as the preamble to the 1977 *Charter of the French Language* tend to mask this evidence. However, this does not mean that the situation of French is the North American counterpart of the situation of the traditional minorities of Western Europe, with the exception, once again, of Catalan. The correspondences to the European minority languages are rather to be sought among the Amerindian languages.

- fourth, immigration issues are largely absent from European research, whereas they have pride of place in research originating in the United States.[26]

- fifth, whereas Canadian or American research generally considers that the variable to be explained is of an economic nature (the linguistic data then serving as explicative variables), the opposite is often true in European research, where there is an attempt to see how economic variables have an impact on a certain *linguistic environment*.

Economics and language: the emergence of a European demand?

At present, a whole series of initiatives is being undertaken in Europe (for example, under the aegis of the European Bureau of Lesser-Used Languages, whose mission it is to defend and promote traditional minority languages) to reconcile the objectives of business with those of agencies that work to promote minority languages, and indeed to use the resources of the former to promote the latter. More specifically, questions are regularly raised about the conditions for establishing businesses in peripheral regions where minority languages are spoken, or about the relationship between a possible cultural substrate proper to each linguistic community and the attitude or objective situation of members of the community with respect to the capitalist market economy, to entrepreneurship, to access to credit, etc.

In addition to work done under the encouragement of the minority communities co-ordinating body, the authorities representing each of these different communities are becoming increasingly aware that economics must be taken into account in any language planning project. This awareness became evident in the mid-1980s in Catalonia and the Basque country. It has since appeared in Friesland, Scotland and Ireland. Various associations have been created locally, especially in the Celtic language regions, with the aim of harnessing market forces for the promotion of minority languages (listed in Menter a Busnes, 1995). These associations are therefore more concerned with the issue of "economics *and* language" than with the economics of language as a field of scientific investigation. It goes without saying, however, that the two approaches are closely related. The initiatives cited here are, for the most part, directed by activists or by persons whose commitment to a minority language is combined with a professional background in business management. The action plans that arise from them are therefore only very

[26] Of the American writers on the economics of language, Pool is currently the only one concerned with issues other than immigration.

indirectly inspired by the research results, but colloquia are organized on a relatively regular basis to guarantee an interface between the two environments.[27]

In general, i.e., independently of the traditional minority issues, official agencies seem more inclined than in the past to support research on the multiple relationships between economics and language.

Finally, businesses themselves are beginning to show interest in analysing the impacts and linguistic determinants of their activity in terms of production, sales, communications, hiring and negotiation. European research on these themes can therefore be expected to develop, and this would constitute a counterpart to the Australian work on the role of the linguistic skills of staff in the performance of firms in international markets (e.g., Stanley et al., 1990).

These various initiatives and the interest shown in many circles in analysing the links between economics and language are not negligible in the description of the European context. They may, in fact, be evidence of the emergence of a *demand*, however slight, which, if it persists for some time, can only encourage continuing and co-ordinated research activities. In this sense, the European context would more closely resemble the North American: Canadian research can, to a large extent, be seen as a response to demand from the Quebec provincial government and the federal government, because of the ongoing attention that the various components of the Canadian federation devote to the *linguistic environment*, of which language policy is only one aspect. American research, for its part, is largely inspired by the needs of the United States Department of Labour for analyses of the labour market, particularly as regards the influence of immigration on it.

Relevance to Canada

Canadian research has, from the beginnings of the economics of language, played a pioneering role internationally.[28] It is therefore rather for European research, which is much more recent, to be inspired by Canadian work, and not the other way around. This being said, it may be that European work can contribute to bringing to light, if not explaining, phenomena that are not unimportant to Canada. In this final section, I will attempt to identify the questions on which European work may be relevant to understand Canadian issues. However, as a European who has lived in Canada and returns there frequently, the writer emphasizes that it is above all for

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[27] Publications such as Pellenbarg (1993) and Grin (1993c), for example, are the result of one of these meetings.

[28] Although the genesis of the economics of language can be traced to American Jacob Marschak (1965), his single article in this field has to date inspired no followers, and Canadian research on the relationships between language and income very soon took over.

the Canadian reader to evaluate what, among European works, may be useful to him.

The following first two suggestions are of a methodological nature; the next two concern research areas and themes to be pursued.

(i) Diversification of research

What is striking to the European observer is the preponderance in Canadian research of econometric analysis of the share of inter-community earnings differentials attributable to linguistic characteristics. Canadian research is surely also concerned with the relationship between language and ownership of the economy (Vaillancourt and Leblanc, 1993), the economic impact of linguistic legislation (Breton, 1978; Vaillancourt, 1987), the matching of workers with a particular job in terms of their linguistic skills (Sabourin, 1985) or the divergence between social optimum and private optimum in the acquisition of a second language by the residents of a bilingual state (Church and King, 1993).

These works, however, are peripheral in relation to the principal field of research to which most of the works originating from the United States also belong. Because of its relative variety (despite the modest number of researchers active in this field at present), European research may make its initial contribution by reminding Canadian researchers of the wide range of issues to be examined.

(ii) Reciprocity in causal relationships

As we have previously mentioned, most Canadian works look at the economics of language in a unidirectional manner, in the sense that economic variables are almost always the object of study, with linguistic variables used as explanatory factors. However, to say, for example, that bilingualism "costs" or that it "pays" does not give an adequate account of its relationships with economic reality: a *linguistic environment* is also the result of economic forces which in turn, it will help to influence. By virtue of the place they have from the outset given to linguistic questions per se, the works of European researchers may remind Canadian researchers of the importance of the movement {economics → language}, which is not only reciprocal, but also the necessary complement of the movement {language → economics}. This awareness can only promote the interdisciplinarity that is essential to the economics of language.

(iii) Minority languages: the case of Aboriginal languages

The absence of works on the economics of language concerning the dynamics of maintenance and decline of Amerindian languages, which is the counterpart of the two previous observations, is therefore equally striking. The various Amerindian

communities' situation, in terms of the *status* of their traditional languages, is not, however, without many European parallels (cf. Maurais, (dir.) 1992, for a recent survey of Native languages in Quebec). It is true that the respective situations are not identical, because of the considerable disparity (a disparity greater than that frequently observed between minority communities and majority groups in Western Europe) between the Aboriginal peoples and the rest of the Canadian population in terms of socio-economic status, and because speakers of Amerindian languages are geographically scattered. However, this points the way to a direction for research that is justified by its intrinsic interest and its socio-linguistic relevance and which could, if necessary, draw upon work already carried out in Europe. This work, as we have seen, provides either theoretical models (some of which might be used directly for the study of Amerindian demolinguistic situations) or empirical investigations that might, with adaptation, be reproduced in Canadian settings. Such a study might prove particularly interesting for linguistic groups such as the Inuktitut or the Cree, whose situation seems more similar than others to various European cases.

Such works might, for example, analyse in detail the time budgets of speakers of Native languages (particularly of bilingual speakers with a knowledge of either of Canada's official languages) and attempt to determine the influence on the use of these languages and on their transmission to the next generation. They might also analyse the prices of goods and services required for carrying on activities in the Native language, the accessibility of these goods (i.e. at the start, their availability) and deal with one of the central problems in this type of study: the development of an index of linguistic *attitudes* that would be justified from a socio-linguistic point of view and would also be operational in the theoretical context of constrained utility maximization.

(iv) Procedures for arbitrating linguistic rights in plurilingual entities

Finally, let us remember that one of the major issues currently facing Europe is that of the status that the various national languages of the member States of the European Union should have—and not that of the minority languages (or "lesser used" languages, as used in official terminology, which seeks to avoid at all costs terms that have too many connotations). Generally speaking, the problem is that of the management of linguistic plurality by language planning bodies. At present, it is probably work by Pool (1991a: to be published), or Grin (1994c) that sketches out operational solutions. For political reasons, however, European officialdom has always avoided dealing with this issue head-on and ordering research on the subject; it is therefore abandoned to purely political discourse, which is susceptible to drift toward nationalism.

In this regard, however, there are still urgent requirements. Perhaps Canadian researchers might be able to draw upon their experience, as well as their

independence from the European institutional context, to make headway in this direction. This requires, however, that they remove themselves completely from the Quebec-Canada frame of reference, reason theoretically, then introduce data specific to the European context as the issues are not always immediately transposable (see in this regard my reservations [Grin, 1994, to be published] with respect to the works of Breton [e.g., 1978] or Brenner [1991]).

This line of research may prove fruitful for Canada itself. Since it adopted a *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* in 1988, Canada has not clearly dealt with the linguistic consequences of this legislation: what degree of official status should the immigrant languages receive? How can these rights be combined with those of Native communities whose language is threatened? These questions must be approached by transcending ideological presuppositions and comparing approaches on the basis of clearly stated criteria (see in this regard Pool, 1991b, to be published; Grin, 1994c). Economic variables may play a major role in decision-making (see in this regard Stanley et al., 1990; Grin and Vaillancourt, 1995).

Conclusion

In concluding this brief survey of European work on the economics of language, and of its similarities and dissimilarities in comparison to North American, and particularly Canadian research, it can be suggested that the latter can probably find, among works produced in Europe, some avenues of research scientifically worth looking into and relevant to the challenges of Canadian linguistic pluralism.

The fact remains that Canadian, and particularly Quebec researchers have done pioneering work in this area and that European research in the economics of language has much to learn from North America. I particularly refer to the work on immigration. Since the perception of Canada and the United States as lands of immigration has been well established for many generations, it is logical that great attention has been paid to migratory phenomena in the research done in those countries. However, all European states are now faced with migratory flows that are increasingly similar in their nature and consequences, socially, culturally and economically, to those seen in the traditional countries of immigration. It would therefore be appropriate for European research on the economics of language to use the long Canadian and American experience as models for the relationship between language and economics (particularly the labour market) in the context of international migrations.

Encouraging developments have been evident for some time with regard to the economics of language as a field of research. Not the least of these is that we are seeing an organization of the field, one example of which is the Department of Canadian Heritage's colloquium on this theme. Such developments presage an

intensification of co-operation between Canadian and European researchers on a current subject of undoubted scientific interest and socio-political relevance.

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Reflections on Some Economic Aspects of Bilingualism

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Introduction

Though some difficult theoretical problems are still unresolved, indeed not even addressed in the literature, there is a broad consensus that it is appropriate to assume that the possession of a second (or third, or fourth[29]) language is equal to the possession of a capital good or to the possession of a form of human capital.[30] I have used a conventional economic idiom to formulate the underlying assumption of an analytic approach to bilingualism, but the consensus about the nature of second languages extends beyond the frontier of economics and the world of economists.[31] Second languages are capital goods because they are costly to acquire on the one hand and because the benefits which they yield flow over extended periods of time. Investment costs can take the form of time, effort, tuition fees as well as of materiél such as books, dictionaries and audio- and video-tapes. Investment costs also include the resources needed to overcome barriers created by xenophobic indoctrination (see Breton and Breton, in preparation) as well as barriers generated by the contempt in which a particular second language or the human beings who speak it are held.[32]

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[29] To simplify the presentation, in the remainder of the text I limit the discussion to second languages. Nothing of substance is lost by making this restriction.

[30] A first language is also a capital good: it can be improved along a multiplicity of margins, all of which are susceptible to yield a stream of benefits. I pay no attention to investments in first languages in what follows, though people who are worried about language survival would want to focus their attention on that issue and in particular on what seems to be one of the most central, if also the most difficult, aspect of this question, namely the benefits of improvements in reading, speaking and writing a first language.

[31] The assumption pertains to what could be called the microeconomics of bilingualism. There also exists a macroeconomics of bilingualism which focuses on job creation, balance of trade issues, etc. This is a murky area that space considerations do not allow me to discuss.

[32] Incessant references to the costs (dangers, risks, etc.) of bilingualism without any mention ever of its benefits are, I suggest, *prima facie* evidence of contempt for one or another second language and, I repeat, for those who speak it.

The benefits that flow from a second language are many and varied. In the work I did with Peter Mieszkowski almost twenty years ago, the yield on a second language was examined in the framework of a 'trade model'. Formulating a theory of bilingualism in such a model not only makes it possible to define the benefits in a precise fashion, it also permits the derivation of a number of propositions related to the incidence of both the benefits and the costs of bilingualism. Let me briefly review two of these for those who may not be acquainted with that early work (Breton and Mieszkowski, 1977, see also Breton 1978) and to draw new implications.

Let us suppose that trade between two groups entails communication costs in addition to the factor costs of producing the goods and/or services which members of the two groups wish to exchange with each other and to the transportation costs of moving these goods and/or services between the two groups. The lower all these costs, the larger the volume of intergroup trade and, on standard assumptions of trade theory, the greater the level of well-being. Communication costs will depend, among other things, on language differences. Suppose then that one group is made up of Anglophones and the other of Francophones, that the Anglophones are unilingual while the Francophones are bilingual[33], and also that the bilingualism of the Francophones—their knowledge of English—is not related to trade. The Francophones have not, to put the matter differently, become bilingual for the purpose of entering into intergroup commerce, but because they wanted, let us say, to study in the original the works of James Joyce, in particular *Ulysses* and *Finnegan's Wake* which, because of the arduousness of the English text, are terribly difficult to render correctly in translation.

Under assumptions such as these, Breton and Mieszkowski have shown that the Francophones will 'broker' all intergroup commerce but the 'trade yield' on the second language will be zero. The benefits that the Francophones derive from their knowledge of English flow from the 'arts and culture' dimension of bilingualism. The volume of importables and/or exportables absorbed in overcoming the communication barrier to trade is, however, lower than if a second language had had to be learnt to secure intergroup exchange. In other words, the unit price of imports and exports is lower. The real incomes of both the Francophones and the Anglophones are higher. Even if only the Francophones are bilingual and 'broker' all intergroup trade it does not follow that the Anglophones are free-riders because they are not shirking on communication costs.

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[33] I return below to the question of 'social' as distinguished from 'private' bilingualism. For the moment, it is inconsequential to assume that all or only a number of francophones are bilingual.

The 'trade model' of bilingualism will carry us only part of the way in understanding the problems of investment in a second language, but fortunately the model can be generalized to apply to any domain of activity which can be modeled as exchange. It can, for example, be applied to politics, because that domain of human activity can be rationalized as the exchange of publicly supplied goods and services for taxprices (that is, for reductions in the volume of privately supplied goods and services) under competitive trade conditions (see Breton, forthcoming). If we make assumptions which are *mutatis mutandis* similar to those made in the penultimate paragraph, we reach conclusions akin to those outlined in the last paragraph. One of these conclusions, at the level of practical affairs, implies that the French immersion school programs not only lead over the long term to more efficient trade between Anglophones and Francophones, but to a more efficient delivery of public services even though, on the assumption that participation in the French immersion programs is not primarily motivated by trade and public employment prospects, the 'economic' yield on investment in French is zero.

The 'trade model' of bilingualism allows us to derive a second proposition, namely one that pertains to the incidence of the cost of bilingualism. If we anew assume that the world is made up of one Anglophone and one Francophone group with the second small enough relative to the first that it can be assumed to be a strict price-taker and if we further assume that private markets and public sectors are competitive, then the costs of overcoming the communication barriers will fall completely and exclusively on the smaller group which is here assumed to be the francophones.

This proposition has to be modified whenever it is applied to instances in which the small group is not a pure price-taker, either because competition is imperfect or because of other reasons, but it is nonetheless an important proposition with considerable empirical force. In the Canadian context, there can be little doubt that historically the Francophones have invested, on the average, more resources *per capita* in the learning of a second language than have the Anglophones. In some cases the volume of resources so invested was no doubt small, but in other cases it was significant. In both cases, it must be presumed to have been the volume of investment that maximized wealth. For many of these Francophones, the volume of 'exchanges'—broadly defined to include, beyond private and public trade, various forms of social interaction—with Anglophones was fairly limited and consequently the 'language programs' of the Canadian Government, especially those related to bilingualism, meant that they could enjoy the same level of wealth without having to invest as much as hitherto in a second language. It is, therefore, important when appraising the resource costs of official bilingualism to adjust these costs by subtracting from them the resources no longer invested by Francophones. To the extent that the language policies introduced by the Canadian Government in the 1960's have had this effect, they have, without doubt, altered the incidence of investment costs in a second language—shifting the burden on the average away

from Francophones toward Anglophones—but it is an empirical question how costly these policies have been in fact. In principle, it is possible that the aggregate resource cost of investments in the learning of a second language in Canada, correctly normalized for the volume of goods and services exchanged between the two language groups, has fallen over the last thirty years.

One of the problems posed by an analysis of bilingualism as a capital good which, to my knowledge has not been satisfactorily addressed, relates to the fact that the value of the asset appreciates with use. If we let y be the total net yield on a second language, r the rate of return proper, δ the rate of depreciation and if e denotes employment or use, we have $y = r + \delta(e)$ with $\partial y/\partial e = \partial y/\partial\delta \cdot \partial\delta/\partial e > 0$. (The opposite usually occurs in the case of material goods such as machines. Though I know of no evidence on the rate at which this partial derivative changes, stability would seem to require that $\partial^2 y/\partial e^2 < 0$.

To rationalize this phenomenon we can assume that the marginal resource cost of investing in a second language is *reduced*, in a second period, by the positive effect of the human capital (the second language) accumulated in a first period, somewhat like the effect of consumption in George Stigler and Gary Becker's (1977) analysis of "addiction". In other words, the positive effect on subsequent capital formation is like an investment return from the production of some amount of language capital at time t (say) that reduces the investment costs at t + 1.

If this rationalization is accepted and if resources are allocated as public subsidies to the promotion of a second language, the cost per unit of value will be smaller if *ceteris paribus* the resources are invested in younger people. The *ceteris paribus* is necessary to take into account the fact that the productivity of invested resources also depends on the "skills" of people at converting education and matériel into the desired capital good. It would also mean that to be truly efficient, subsidies allocated to investment in second languages should be conditional on a 'sustained' use of the second languages. Otherwise the subsidies would be wasted.

It is very difficult to understand bilingualism without the concept of *lingua franca*.[14] For reasons that need not be discussed here, English is today the undisputed *lingua franca* of the world, even more so than it was as recently as twenty years ago.

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[14] *Lingua franca* is Italian for Frankish language. In the Levant, Europeans were once known as Franks. These itinerant Europeans spoke a language that was a mixture of Arabic, French, Greek, Italian and Spanish and which got to be known in the various ports of the Mediterranean as the language of the Franks or *lingua franca*. Because that language allowed those who used it to communicate and exchange in all the Mediterranean ports, the expression came to denote any language employed as a common vehicle of communication by people of different languages.

Except for specialists and scholars whose activity requires a knowledge of a particular non-*lingua franca* language, the yield or internal rate of return on $1.00 invested in a *lingua franca* language is higher—in the case of English today, much higher—than the yield on $1.00 invested in learning any other language.

It is this fact which explains why the 'educated classes' in English-speaking countries tend to be more unilingual than the 'educated classes' in other countries. When all the persons one interacts with read, speak and write English, why should one if one is an Anglophone learn a second language? It is because of this fact that in the absence of legislation and subsidization the Canadian Government would not be as bilingual as it is. It is also because of this fact that legislation and subsidization are necessary for the survival of the French language in Canada. And it is because of this fact that Quebec's secession from Canada would do nothing to promote French in Quebec.[35]

Suppose that the principal language spoken in the United States was Greek. Greek would then be the world's *lingua franca*, possibly not as dominant as English is today (Australians, Britons, a majority of Canadians, New Zealanders and others would still be speaking English), but most certainly still very important. The official languages of Canada would still be English and French. Those responsible for the conduct of Canada's affairs would have to be trilingual and there would, no doubt, be many in the country among the 'educated classes' who would be trilingual. The burden of this point is that important savings are realized as a result of the fact that one of the country's official languages is the *lingua franca*. However, if America's principal language was Greek, the status of French in Canada would be more secure. The way things are is largely an accident of history, but that does not mean that those who accidentally benefit[36] from the fact that they are charter members of the *lingua franca* do not have responsibility vis-à-vis those who are not.

In any decision to invest resources in the learning of a second language, there is a basic asymmetry which constrains that choice and which biases it toward the *lingua franca*. Consider the institutions of the European Union (EU), not the populations of the countries of the EU who have on the whole already decided that the second language of their choice is English. How will the EU's institutions resolve the language problem that will be theirs once integration is complete? Translate everything into all of the many languages of the member states? The decision will necessarily be a political one that will have to weigh many factors, but

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[35] Indeed, to the extent that bilingualism in Canada reduces some francophones' need for investing in English (see above), secession would worsen the status of the French language in the northern part of North America.

[36] Breton and Mieszkowski (1977) called this benefit a form of 'seignorage'.

in view of the *lingua franca* status of the English language, there will be enormous pressure for the affairs of the EU to be conducted predominantly in English and large costs (and, no doubt, benefits) associated with any diversification of the language portfolio of the Union.

The notion of private bilingualism is fairly clear. It is not as precise as some publications which refer to the 'number of Canadians able to speak both French and English' would have us believe, because the ability to speak and that to read and write a second language is a continuum whose metric (b)—which I assume exists—can be made to vary between, let us say, b^* and 1. If $b < b^*$, a person would be called unilingual, but because the interval $1 - b^*$, though finite, is positive and greater than 1—in all likelihood considerably larger than 1—people can be more or less bilingual. Still, the concept is tractable, indeed tractable enough to make it reasonable to presume the existence of a meaningful metric.

The same cannot be said of social bilingualism—the prevalence in the literature of expressions such as 'bilingual country', 'bilingual society', 'bilingual institutions', 'bilingual publications' and so on notwithstanding. The *Canadian Journal of Economics* is a bilingual scientific publication in the sense that papers can be and are published in it either in French or in English. The public bodies which grant money to insure that the *Journal* survives pay considerable attention to that dimension of bilingualism. However, if bilingualism was defined in terms of the readership of the French and English papers published, the 'degree of bilingualism' would surely be very different[37]. Francophone economists who no doubt pay some sort of attention to citations, if not to citation indexes, seem to know that on the second acceptation, the *Journal* is not very bilingual. (Many of these scholars are not, how should I put it, enthusiastic about English, but they are driven by the *lingua franca* dimension of the language). The University of Toronto is officially bilingual in Canada's two official languages. Students can therefore write term papers and exams in English or in French. Whether these can be properly graded is, however, a different matter. We have had, in the Department of Economics, every year for many years a small number of francophone students, not all of whom have been perfectly at ease in English. To my knowledge, none has ever made use of the formal bilingual status of the University, certainly because they know that it is not really bilingual.

The international airline system operating under the rules of the International Air Transport Association (IATA) is required to offer announcements, timetables, directions, etc. in English in addition to the language of the country of aircraft departure and arrival. For those who do not know English nor the local languages,

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[37] I doubt that a metric exists for the 'degree of (social) bilingualism', hence the quotation marks.

air travel can be bumpy, especially if some unforeseen events occur. Hewlett Packard — the transnational company which is best known for its computer printers but which produces many other commodities as well — is multilingual in the sense that the instructions and the other documents which accompany its products are usually printed in four or more languages[38].

I mention two other forms of social bilingualism, both of which are the product of the language policies of the Canadian Government. The first of these forms occurs when the business of government is conducted in a context in which each participant speaks (and writes) in her or his own language on the assumption that though the other participants are not fully at ease in speaking that language, they are at ease in understanding it; a sort of passive bilingualism. The second is official bilingualism, that is, the ability of all Canadians to conduct business with the federal government in one or the other of the official languages.

While unable to provide a definition for social bilingualism or even to assume that a metric exists, the above illustrations point to a tentative proposition: social bilingualism requires that only one side of the institutions of exchange—markets, public sectors, churches, universities, hospitals, clubs, etc.—be bilingual. Efficiency, in turn, would seem to require that it be the side that is numerically the smallest: the supply side for goods and services markets, but the demand side for labour markets; the supply side for public sectors, churches, hospitals and clubs, but the demand side for professional journals. If that is correct, except for a few blemishes, we have not done too badly in Canada over the last generation. There is, however, much more to be done.

[38] A large and growing number of American products sold in the Canadian market have bilingual—English and French—labels and instructions for use when sold in the US market. The savings to producers of single bilingual labels is probably very small, but in view of the fact that only terribly obtuse persons would refuse to buy products because their labels contain some French, manufacturers choose to pocket the savings, however small.

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Linguistic Competence, Investments and Impacts

The Comparative Advantages of Bilingualism on the Job Market: Survey of Studies

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Introduction

The idea of undertaking this review came to me when I was watching television programs on second-language immersion and the great popularity of - and debates surrounding - these programs in Canada (more than 300,000 students are now registered in an immersion program). I was particularly struck by the consistency with which the students or their parents cited economic reasons for registering in immersion programs. In effect, although they frequently cited cultural and 'patriotic reasons', nearly all those interviewed said that they had decided to learn the other official language because it would more easily help them find a job or a better job.[39]

Since second-language immersion programs have existed in Canada for twenty-five years, one might wonder what has become of the students who emerged from these immersion programs with the hope of finding greater success on the job market. Did they in fact find a job or a better job thanks to their knowledge of both official languages? Given the amount of time that has gone by, the large amounts of money that have been allocated to these programs and the large number of people who have participated in them, one might reasonably have thought that a number of program evaluations or in-depth studies would have been conducted to answer these questions. It was, therefore, with the intention of compiling the conclusions of these evaluations or studies that I initially undertook this project.

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[39] This text deals primarily with the economic advantages of knowing both of Canada's official languages. It goes without saying that knowing languages other than the official languages is an investment in human capital that can also produce economic dividends. In this connection, in its March 6, 1995 edition, Toronto's *Globe and Mail* announced the creation of immersion courses in Mandarin in Vancouver, a decision motivated by economic imperatives, among others: "The board gave the green light, convinced that Mandarin-speaking Vancouver students will add to cultural and economic links with the Pacific Rim."

However, my search for documents, which is not exhaustive,[40] has revealed that very few published surveys have been done to attempt to determine in a rigorous and scientific manner the comparative rate of success on the job market of students who have completed an immersion program, in comparison with that of the general student population. The surveys that have followed up on students after their participation in immersion have, above all, tried to measure such things as the quality or level of retention, several years later, of the language learned in immersion. More general studies look at certain aspects of the issue from the economic angle of employment, but most often, the conclusions relate to very small samples (sometimes a few dozen candidates or even fewer) or amount to a few generalizations that are accompanied by little empirical evidence.[41]

This lack of research on graduates of immersion programs is no doubt a result of the difficulty encountered in finding these persons several years after their entry into the job market and in creating valid samples. In effect, there are no effective and affordable ways to create samples that are wide enough for solid conclusions to be drawn, and the researchers have had to neglect this subject. However, the partial elements available to us indicate that very conclusive results might be obtained if more detailed studies could be undertaken. The summary studies we have examined, which consist of interviews with former immersion students who have entered the job market lead me to conclude, with reservations, that immersion has helped them find a job. I will come back to these encouraging results later.

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[40] I assume that a number of immersion program evaluations have been done over time by the provincial ministries of education for programming purposes and have therefore not been published.

[41] For example, one might expect to find, in relation to such studies, that the researchers methodically controlled other concurrent factors that could explain access to jobs or the career advancement of employees. Factors such as the age of the subjects, their sex, their general level of education or even their ethnic origin, the job sectors and the region of the country in which the bilingual candidate is "marketing" his or her skills are all variables that can affect whether the person gets a job or the chances of advancement of a bilingual person. I have so far not found any very in-depth surveys in this area; researchers have limited themselves to brief interviews of former immersion students. See, for example, the report produced by the Toronto Board of Education in co-operation with Canadian Parents for French (Toronto Chapter), entitled *Report of a Survey of Graduates of Extended and Immersion Programs in Toronto Schools*, October 1988; G. Grenier, Le Bilinguisme chez les anglophones et les francophones au Canada, in Lachapelle and Grenier (1988); R. Hussum and R. Bryce, "A Survey of Graduates from Saskatchewan French Immersion High School", *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, Vol. 48, No. 1, October 1991; D. Hart et al., *French Immersion at the Secondary/Postsecondary Interface: Toward a National Study*, OISE, 1991; Andrea Beaubien, "Does French Immersion Work?", *Ottawa Magazine*, September 1991, pp. 19-21; A. MacFarlane, M.B. Wesche, "Immersion Outcomes: Beyond Language Proficiency", *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, Vol. 51, No. 2, 1995.

While there may have been few methodical studies done on access to the job market of persons who have benefited from immersion, which remains a promising field of study, there has been quite a bit more work done on the links between language and income. One of the prominent leaders in this area is Professor François Vaillancourt. Census data, among other things, lend themselves more easily to this type of analysis. To our knowledge, the studies looking at these issues were done mainly by researchers in Quebec and were based primarily on the situation in Quebec.[42] In addition, the great majority of these studies were done in the 1960s and 1970s. This is no doubt explained by the specific sociological and historical situation in Quebec, where these issues are of particular interest, and by the existential questions being asked by Quebec Francophones and Anglophones regarding their future and their fair place in the economy. It seems to me that there have been fewer such studies since the mid-1980s.

As the title of my paper indicates, I plan to survey the main conclusions flowing from the studies on the comparative advantages of bilingualism[43] on the job market. Therefore, this is not intended as primary research; rather, it is intended as an overview of the conclusions that have come out of existing research in this field. This work, however, is not strictly a summary of these observations. I have analysed them with a critical eye, making judgments as to their explanatory value, pointing out some conceptual and methodological shortcomings, and identifying, where necessary, promising avenues for further research.

This document focuses on the bilingual individual who is trying to sell his or her labour power on the job market. However, from the economic point of view, the advantages of bilingualism are not evident solely at the individual level. Several researchers also look at bilingual companies (Professor Grin and Professor Breton, for example). Thus, aside from the fact that it has bilingual employees, a company may very well adopt a policy of bilingualism in its advertising or may use translators and interpreters for its communications with persons outside the company, rather than hiring bilingual personnel. However, for the purposes of this survey, I will focus on bilingual individuals, looking at the other levels of analysis only where this is relevant.

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[42] In this connection, see François Vaillancourt and Robert Lacroix,« Revenus et langue au Québec, 1970-1980, une revue des écrits», Conseil de la langue française, 1983.

[43] I am not starting out with a preconceived definition of the concept of "bilingualism," since this is a survey of studies whose authors sometimes use different definitions of the concept. Where their different definitions will produce results that cannot be compared or that are contradictory, I will attempt to reconcile them.

As any economist will tell you, measuring the economic advantages of bilingualism is much more difficult than measuring its costs. The benefits to be drawn from an investment in languages are as difficult to measure as the private and social benefits of education or of a library: it is understood that education pays and that a library is an investment in the future, but one would have to be very clever to truly measure all their economic benefits.[44]

The problem is that, in addition to the direct benefits that can flow from education, a library or, in the present case, knowledge of both official languages (higher salaries, access to jobs and promotions, increased mobility, larger clienteles, and so on) and that are relatively easy to measure empirically through compilation of statistics, surveys or polls, and so on, there are also a large number of other benefits that are plausible, more subtle, less direct, but no less real and that do not lend themselves as well to quantitative measurement. For example, there is reason to believe that knowledge of both official languages may lower the rate at which people drop out of school and may promote better social integration and increased participation in the job market for communities that would otherwise be marginalized, and thus may increase their contribution and productivity by optimizing use of their human capital. Knowledge of the language of the "other" makes a bilingual individual more sensitive to the culture and tastes of clients and partners; it may also encourage a decompartmentalizing of regional economies and ensure freer circulation of goods, persons, services and ideas; it may help create a better climate of social peace and conditions conducive to a healthy economy by promoting better communication and harmonious relations between all Canadians, in all regions of the country. Canada's bilingual image may make Canada more attractive for tourism and for certain types of investments, and so on.[45] The importance of these indirect benefits of bilingualism is often evident only in the absence of bilingualism, and therefore eludes empirical measurement. However, that which is easy to measure is not necessarily more important. Looking only at the directly and easily quantifiable aspects is unacceptable reductionism, since the reality is much more rich and complex.

Empirical demonstration therefore does not always suffice for measuring the economic benefits of bilingualism. One must use the art of words and the force of

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[44] For a succinct discussion of the methodological challenges that measurement of the profitability of investment in human capital ("the skills embodied in the workforce") poses for economists, since the introduction of the concept by Nobel prize winner in economics Gary Becker, see the article "Investing in People," which was published in *The Economist* on March 26, 1994, pp. 85-86.

[45] For other examples of indirect economic benefits of bilingualism, see the document prepared by the Department of Canadian Heritage in February 1995 entitled *The Economic Benefits of Linguistic Duality and Bilingualism*.

logic and common sense to illustrate some indirect benefits. To attempt to convince the reader of the validity of our demonstrations, we will therefore use empirical data, where this is possible and desirable, but, in other cases, we will have to rely on good old common sense, on Cartesian logic, and on the analyses and informed opinions of practitioners, academics and researchers. Bilingual individuals are themselves often in a better position to say whether their bilingualism has produced economic benefits (access to jobs, promotions, larger clientele and so on).

In order to structure the analysis of the data collected in a logical and coherent fashion, I have chosen two main subjects and have centred working hypotheses useful for argumentation around those subjects.

Bilingualism and employment

a)Working hypothesis on access to employment

- *Bilingual candidates can enter the job market more easily and can change jobs more easily than can unilingual persons.*

This hypothesis presumes that bilingual persons seeking employment have an advantage on the job market. At worst, as Professor Grenier wrote, bilingualism has a neutral impact (in all logic, the only situation in which bilingualism might be a handicap is when an employer is a Francophobe or Anglophobe.) In principle, all positions are open to bilingual candidates: they have access to positions requiring French, English or both, and they therefore have an advantage over persons who know only one of the two languages.

One might take the hypothesis even further and presume that the candidate's bilingualism may give him an advantage for positions that have no language requirements. One might presume that, if two candidates are equally qualified, but one is bilingual, an employer may prefer the bilingual candidate, even if the position does not require bilingualism. In effect, an employer may believe that a candidate who has learned other languages has shown discipline, a spirit of initiative and a predisposition to learn new things. Persons who have gone through immersion say quite frequently in surveys that the learning of French has made it easier for them to learn other languages or skills. Two articles in *CPF National News* (Issue 66, Fall 1994) that support this have revealing titles:

"Learning a Third Language is Surprisingly Easy" and

"French Immersion Helped Me Learn Indonesian"

In a more complex study of Anglophone students who had taken French as their major in university, D.G. John describes as follows the multiple impact that these

former students whom he interviewed attributed to learning French and which they said helped them in their career:

> "The French Majors were overwhelmingly satisfied with their choice of discipline [86%]. They felt that their major had contributed valuable knowledge areas and skills to their development: communication skills in French and knowledge of French culture; analytical and critical skills, creative and research skills [...] Leading the way were the computer skills [...] and flexibility, adaptability or willingness to learn; also mentioned repeatedly were general communications skills, good organization and time management, research skills as well as management and business skills."[46]

In this context, Professor Chorney quotes an employer who says that "having bilingual skills in a rapidly changing world made the employee much more flexible and more valuable to the company in their capacity to adapt."

We found that, except for surveys of former immersion students, very few studies have been done that have tried to establish a relationship between bilingualism and access to employment. Most of the studies that look at the benefits of bilingualism on the job market examine the income gaps between bilingual and non-bilingual persons, meaning that the subjects have already reached the job market. Interesting surveys could certainly be done on the matter of access to employment, and various approaches can be envisaged.

Vaillancourt (1988) devotes a concise but eloquent chapter to the matter of participation in the Quebec job market on the basis of language attributes in 1985. He shows clearly that all bilingual Francophones, Anglophones and allophones have a distinctly higher level of participation in the job market than do unilingual persons, all categories combined. The gaps are even greater for women:

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[46] "Language Students and Careers", *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, Vol. 46, No. 3, March 1990. These comments support hypotheses that learning a second language helps develop intelligence. This could therefore be an economic advantage of bilingualism for the individual, his or her employer and society.

Table 1-Participation in Job Market by Language Group in Quebec. Men and Women, 1985

Language group	Men		Women	
	RCR	%	RCR	%
Unilingual Anglophones	62.4	0.91	38.5	0.88
Bilingual Anglophones	78.7	1.15	64.2	1.47
Unilingual Francophones	68.3	1.00	43.7	1.00
Bilingual Francophones	80.6	1.18	63.2	1.45
Anglophone allophones	64.1	0.94	40.7	0.93
Francophone allophones	65.2	0.95	46.2	1.06
Bilingual allophones	76.2	1.12	62.5	1.43
Other allophones	42.2	0.62	25.7	0.59
Anglophones-Francophones	76.3	0.99	46.2	1.06
All	72.9	-	50.0	-

Source: Calculations made by F. Vaillancourt on the basis of microdata from the 1986 census.

RCR: Reference Category Ratio (unilingual Francophones).

Here also, one would have to refine the analysis to determine the importance of bilingualism relative to other explanatory factors, such as education.

Besides this type of study or the surveys of former immersion students, whose samples sometimes leave something to be desired, one can imagine other types of research that would shed more light in this area. Instead of interviewing immersion graduates, who are hard to reach, it would be easier to survey heads of companies by establishing a representative sample of the various types of establishments in various areas of the country, to determine the importance of bilingualism in their employment criteria.[17] The data banks of the employment centres could eventually be a source that could be used in this regard. Professor Chorney conducted his little survey of Canadian companies in this connection, and although he acknowledges

[17] To our knowledge, surveys of Canadian companies have been done to determine their weaknesses and their needs in the area of language training, but these surveys have not looked directly at the issue of employment. They focused on the problem of a lack of adjustment of personnel to the changes that are taking place and that are going to make particular language requirements necessary. Cf. Conference Board (1990), Deslauriers (1990), Centre de linguistique de l'entreprise (1992).

that his sample is not completely scientific, the results he obtained are very interesting. The large companies he contacted employ some 120,000 persons in the manufacturing, business, construction, pharmaceutical and other sectors. Among other things, he concludes that the survey's results indicate that from the employee's point of view, bilingualism is of clear benefit for finding a job and keeping it. This observation applies to both Quebec and the rest of Canada. It would be appropriate to conduct a survey on a wider scale in this regard.[48]

While the results obtained in Quebec are quite revealing (see Vaillancourt above), it is also interesting to look at the situation elsewhere in Canada. The surveys of former immersion students in English Canada may differ in the questions asked, but they largely converge with respect to the affirmative answers from respondents who feel that their learning of the second language was an asset for getting the job they were in (see Footnote 41 for references to such studies). For the purposes of this demonstration, we will give only a few examples here.

A survey of 414 graduates of French immersion programs and enriched core programs in Toronto in 1988 reveals that 29% of the subjects had originally chosen these programs with a view to their future career, but that this reason is given by 40% of them today. When asked whether knowledge of French helped them find a full-time job, 36% said yes. In addition, when asked whether they use French in their work, 58% said yes. The predominant responses were to the effect that "being bilingual was an edge in getting a job or getting promoted" (59%). The Annual Report of the Commissioner of Official Languages for 1994 (page 100) refers to a similar survey *(ESL: Learning French Matters in Toronto Schools)* that draws much the same conclusions. When asked whether they would choose the same type of studies if they had it to do again, the Report notes that 98% of the graduates of immersion programs and 86% of the graduates of enriched core programs said yes.

In their study on various aspects of immersion conducted with a group of 21 subjects in the Ottawa area, MacFarlane and Wesche examined the impact that immersion has had on the subjects' adult life. The most frequent response was "better job opportunities." Similarly, in their study of 78 immersion graduates in Saskatchewan, Hussum and Bryce ("A Survey of Graduates from a Saskatchewan French Immersion High School," *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, Vol. 48,

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[48] One way to approach this issue from another angle would be to compare the rates and length of unemployment for bilingual and unilingual persons. If our working hypothesis is valid, there is a strong chance that, in these times of high unemployment, in which competition in the job market is fierce, each comparative advantage is worth its weight in gold, and the bilingual candidate has probably got a better chance of finding employment or being unemployed for a shorter time. I am not aware of any studies looking at the issue from this angle. Such a study could no doubt be done quite easily using statistical analyses from existing data banks.

No. 1, 1991) found that 35% of the respondents indicated that they enrolled in immersion to increase their choice of jobs or to find better jobs.

Question: ***Main Reason for Entering Fr nch Immersion?***

Reason	Number	Percentage
Become bilingual/Learn second language	24	40.0
For more/better job opportunities	21	35.0
Mother tongue of parent	8	13.0
Learn about another culture	4	6.7
Educational value	1	1.7
Like French teacher	1	1.7
Best friend went into it first	1	1.7

However, we estimate that this response should be something like 56%, rather than 35%, owing to the poor wording of the question "Main Reason for Entering French Immersion?" To this question, 40% of the subjects replied "To become bilingual/learn second language." Thus worded, the question called for this tautological answer because, in reality, it can logically be presumed that 100% of subjects who enrol in immersion courses do so to become bilingual.[49] The question that should have been asked, to move beyond this primary reply stage was "Why do you want to become bilingual/learn another language?" I arrived at 56% by dividing the 40% on a pro rata basis, using the responses to the other responses given. Another methodological error I encountered a few times in these questionnaires was that of asking the candidates "Why did you choose immersion?" This is an error because, very often, the choice is made by the parents, not by the respondent, who was very young at the time. It would be better to ask a question such as "What advantage do you see in immersion?" or "What impact has immersion had on your life?"

On the basis of the studies presented here and others I have consulted, one may conclude that knowledge of the other official language is indeed an advantage for access to the job market, and this statement seems to have been valid for all of Canada in the early 1990s.[50]

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[49] This methodological blunder is equivalent to asking students at a driving school "Why did you enrol in driving school?" In principle 100 percent of the subjects could respond quite simply "to learn to drive," which goes without saying, but that is not very useful for a researcher wanting to determine the "underlying reasons" (work, tourism, recreation, sports, independence and so on).

[50] Of course the number of positions requiring bilingualism is much larger in Montreal than in Toronto or Winnipeg. However, one can infer that the much lower number of

However, these results do not tell us to what extent bilingualism was a decisive factor in the obtaining of a position, or whether it was only one among other factors. More in-depth research is needed.

It would be appropriate to refine the studies further to research the matter in greater depth and determine the importance of other competing factors to explain the results. One might ask to what extent other variables, such as the age of the bilingual candidates, their general level of education, their sex, their occupation, the geographic location or their employment sector, may have played a part in their getting a job. For example, one might think that, in some employment sectors, a candidate's bilingualism would be a negligible factor (extraction of raw materials, agriculture, manufacturing and so on), while, in others, bilingualism might be very advantageous (business, administrative services, communications and so on).

Similarly, the benefit is probably not the same for men as for women. Women often work in jobs involving front-line contact with clients (e.g. secretarial, receptionist, sales, and waitressing positions), positions in which bilingualism is frequently sought. It would therefore not be surprising if more women than men in a given region, with a given level of training and so on, were to say that bilingualism helped them find a job. Along the same lines, it would be interesting to further the research and better assess the importance of bilingualism for access to positions in the sectors of the future that are now emerging (communications, services and other knowledge-intensive fields).

The studies on access to employment that I have examined do not go very far in breaking down the results on the basis of the various dimensions of which I just spoke. However, researchers who have studied the relationships between language and income have gone much further in this direction. I will give a brief overview of this research field.

b) Working hypothesis regarding employment income:

- *Bilingual employees earn more than unilingual employees.*

Conceptual and methodological problems

Several approaches have been taken to establish a link between the bilingualism of individuals and their employment income. The major challenge in this review is not so much to describe each of these approaches and their nuances as to take stock

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bilingual workers in Toronto means that they are a "rare commodity" and are therefore much in demand. Ontario companies that move their headquarters from Toronto to Moncton because there are not enough bilingual workers in Toronto support this inference. I will return to this subject later.

of the results obtained and draw general conclusions. In effect, it is very difficult to compile or add up the results obtained in different studies and arrive at a grand total. The research done in this field is far from cumulative. Often, researchers do not seem inclined to further existing studies, and approach the question from different angles. They do not always adopt the same concepts, indicators or control variables, and do not all agree on the phenomenon to be explained (the dependent variable of employment income). For example, some use the definition of bilingualism used in the censuses (which is not without slippage or subjectivity, since the respondent is called upon to evaluate himself or herself), while others use more rigid or more flexible definitions, something which, of course produces different results. In his 1983 survey of the literature with Robert Lacroix, Professor Vaillancourt has succeeded, if not in compiling the various studies he surveyed, at least in reconciling them, in explaining why they did not all arrive at the same result, even though they related to the same populations.

In addition, the results vary as a result of so many different factors that one must constantly make nuances and be very careful not to draw premature conclusions. Thus, the studies often show substantial variations in the income of bilingual persons, depending on mother tongue, age, level of education, sex, ethnic origin, sector of the economy, type of employment and so on, and, at the same time, depending on when the survey was done and on the geographic area considered. Obviously, I cannot provide a detailed breakdown of these data in this short working paper. I will limit myself here to the major trends that seem to have been emerging over the last twenty years, omitting the details and all their nuances.

In his previously mentioned analysis of job market participation in Quebec in 1985, Vaillancourt hypothesizes that:

> "the relationship between linguistic characteristics and job market participation is similar to that which exists between linguistic characteristics and employment income. Thus, bilingual individuals are more likely not only to work, but also to work for a greater number of weeks than [unilingual persons][51], since they have much more human capital than do the latter."

Even if, theoretically, this hypothesis were valid, I would be more inclined to suppose that the relationship between bilingualism and job market participation is closer than the relationship between bilingualism and income. Take the hypothetical example of a waiter or waitress in a restaurant. A bilingual waitress may be able to get a job more easily than a unilingual waitress, but it does not necessarily follow that she will automatically be paid more than her unilingual

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[51] The published text says *universitaires* (academics), but this seems to be an error. The text should read *unilingues* (unilingual persons). It goes without saying that academics have great human capital.

colleague. The direct economic benefit of her bilingualism might relate only to access to employment, not to wages. (Of course, the bilingual waitress may eventually earn more money because of the higher tips given to her by a larger clientele or by customers happy to be served in their own language.) In other words, not all employers pay a bilingualism bonus, and, if the bilingual candidate gets a higher salary than the unilingual one, I think this might most often be due to the fact that his or her bilingualism opens more doors, increases the choice of higher-paying jobs, provides greater mobility by enabling him or her to change jobs more often and get more promotions. In short, I expect to find that the relationship between bilingualism and employment is more constant than the relationship between bilingualism and income.

Boulet (1980), who has studied the situation from 1961 to 1978 in Montreal, has found that bilingual Anglophones had the highest employment income in 1961, followed, in order, by unilingual Anglophones, bilingual Francophones, bilingual allophones and unilingual Francophones. However, in 1978, all the bilingual groups were earning more than the unilingual Anglophones, and the gap between unilingual Francophones and Anglophones had closed considerably.

One can say that the bilingualism of individuals continues to be profitable on the job market, in particular for more educated persons, managers and persons in the service sector and other knowledge-intensive sectors. In Quebec, however, authors (Vaillancourt, Lachapelle, Grenier, Levine, Anglejan) agree that English is no longer as essential as it was up until the 1970s. The importance of French in the economy has grown in Quebec (according to a Secor study done in 1980, the proportion of Francophones in managerial positions rose from 69% in 1964 to 75% in 1979), to such an extent that the bilingualization rate of Anglophones has made a tremendous leap, rising from 37% in 1971 to 59% today, compared with 26% to 32% for the same period among Francophones (Commissioner of Official Languages reports).

Obviously, this reversal of the situation cannot be attributed to market forces only. Language laws, including those pertaining to the francization of businesses, have also accelerated the trend, but other factors are considered even more important by experts (including Vaillancourt, 1989): growth of the public sector, growth in Francophone-controlled employment, growth in the purchasing power of Francophones and the departure of companies' headquarters, which have moved west, in the direction of other development forces. No doubt, one might also point to the exodus of unilingual Anglophones, which has helped increase the proportion of bilingual Anglophones.

Some paradoxes or singularities that used to be revealed by studies seem to have disappeared today, or at least to have been diminished. An example of such a

paradox is the fact that, in some Anglophone-controlled industrial sectors, unilingual Anglophones earned more in 1970 than bilingual Anglophones.[52]

To summarize the situation in Quebec, one can say that, although English was not as essential in Quebec in the 1980s as it had been before, the data indicate that bilingualism continues to provide a valuable comparative advantage on the job market for managerial positions. What is the situation elsewhere in Canada?

It is more difficult to assess the situation in the rest of Canada. The studies are less clear in this regard. Shapiro and Stelcner (1981), basing themselves on studies by Robb and Gunderson, conclude that bilingualism for wage-earners was not a significant advantage on the job market.

However, using a broader definition of the concept of "bilingualism," the authors qualify this conclusion somewhat:

> "For francophone and allophone males, being bilingual entailed an earning advantage over speaking only English or French. Anglophones, bilingual or not, earned more than any other group. Relative to unilingual anglophones (the standard) bilingual anglophones did not have a statistically significant earnings advantage. Francophones earned less than all anglophones (17.2% less if unilingual and 9.6% less if bilingual). Bilingual allophones earned a premium over other allophones and earned 5.6% more than unilingual francophones."[53]

Other studies of this kind arrive at more or less the same conclusion (Report of the Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Carliner [1981] and others). However, the important thing for Canada as a whole is to determine in what direction the situation is moving. This issue has generated debate in the public

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[52] Vaillancourt's explanation of this is that the Anglophone owners hired Anglophone white-collar workers, and that economic activity in Quebec was strongly dependent on external, mainly Anglophone markets. I would like to propose another hypothesis that merits testing: until the end of the 1960s, bilingual Anglophones were recruited, not mainly among the more educated elite, as one might have expected, but among the working class. Think, for example, of the waves of Irish immigrants fleeing famine in the 19th century who joined the ranks of Francophones workers and farmers. In addition to their similarity on the occupational level, the two groups had the Catholic religion in common, and this would have encouraged closer relations in an era when religion was a more dominant force in Quebec society. Intermarriage gave us our many Johnsons, Ryans, Burns, Travers and so on. According to this hypothesis, then, among Anglophones in 1970, bilingualism was mainly the privilege, not of the elite, but of the working class, and this might explain why, in some sectors, unilingual Anglophones earned more than bilingual Anglophones in subordinate positions.

[53] Shapiro and Stelcner, 1981.

forum and in the media last year, when Toronto's *Globe and Mail* ran an article (Alanna Mitchell, March 23, 1994) with the following headline: "Hopes for bilingualism unrealized. Statistics show gap in French-English incomes has grown." Using more solid census data, William Johnson of *The Gazette* responded to this article on April 20, 1994, and there has as yet been no response to his article. The comparative data of Statistics Canada that Johnson used indicate that the income gaps between Anglophones and Francophones shrank everywhere in Canada between 1970 and 1990, except in Newfoundland and the Yukon. Moreover, Johnson points out that, in 1990, Francophones were better paid than or as well paid as Anglophones in all the provinces and territories except Quebec and New Brunswick.

Obviously, the figures used by Johnson relate to Anglophones and Francophones, and not to bilingual persons as such. However, even if an increasing number of Anglophones are studying French, the data show that it is primarily Francophones who are bilingual outside Quebec to such an extent that Johnson's figures give a good idea of the situation for bilingual Francophones. Johnson himself acknowledges that more in-depth studies are required to support his conclusion, that regional, rather than provincial, comparisons must be made, and that other factors, such as age and level of education, must be controlled. I know that such a study is now being conducted. I will therefore now refrain from anticipating the conclusions of that study.

Conclusion

Through this brief survey, I have attempted to determine the extent to which the studies examined supported the hypothesis that being bilingual is an advantage for access to the job market and for obtaining a higher income. Although this survey has not provided an unequivocal answer to this question, a number of these studies lead me to believe that knowing both official languages is a comparative advantage on the job market, in some regions more than others, in some activity sectors more than in others and so on.

This subject remains an open field for analysis and study that needs to be approached using a more rigorous methodology. For example, we have spoken freely of bilingualism, without specifying the level of mastery and use of the other language or even of the first language. Analysis has also been limited to a static representation of reality, with reality described as it appears, not as it could be.

There are lessons to be learned from this survey. As with any investment, an investment in human capital (here, the learning of the other official language) has an objective value in itself. However, it may be that on the one hand the possessor of this capital uses it poorly, invests it poorly, and that on the other hand the person hiring a bilingual person uses this human capital poorly, is not aware of its full

value and does not take the best advantage of it. In short, it is not enough to examine the extent to which an individual's bilingualism produces concrete benefits for that individual. An examination should also be done of how this human capital can be maximized, how it can be fully used - for example, by making business people more "aware" of the business opportunities and advantages that this human capital could provide if they make more effective use of it.

I believe that in many cases the problem is one of a lack of awareness. A recent survey of Canadian exporters (discussed in a conversation with Mr. Jean Fahmy of the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages) revealed that few of them used a language other than English in their international dealings and that they did not believe the situation would be otherwise in the future. Is this because knowledge of another language is not objectively useful and profitable, or is it because these business people are not fully aware of the possible advantages? I believe that in many cases, the problem is one of a lack of awareness of changing realities. It is true, of course, that the issue is not the same for all exporters. For a company exporting oil by tanker or making bulk shipments of wheat, wood or ore, language may indeed not be very important. However, knowledge of the client's language might be very much in the interests of a company exporting consulting engineer services or products intended for retail sale. In a television program on the international activities of the Lavalin company, whose services had been retained by Morocco for improving its telephone system, a Moroccan minister said that, all else being equal, Lavalin had been awarded the contract because of the engineers' ability to communicate in French.

In support of this point of view, I would like to quote British trade minister Richard Needham:

> "British firms are losing hundreds of export markets because of their reluctance to speak the language of the target country and to understand its way of life [...] Between 30% and 40% of small and medium-size businesses in the United Kingdom realize that they are losing markets for linguistic or cultural reasons [...] A business that works is one that understands, in each market the consumer's tastes, his culture and his language."[54]

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[54] Excerpt from a speech given by Richard Needham, on April 5, 1995, at the ceremony to award the 'Oscars' of exporting, and quoted by Reuter. The article continues by revealing that a recent survey found that, in 74% of cases, British telephone operators hang up on callers who do not speak English. To convince his audience, the Minister told the true story of a bankrupt British firm whose premises were entered by judicial administrators. In a cabinet, they found an unopened letter written in German. Inside, they found a proposal for a contract so large it would have saved the company from bankruptcy. Reuter, "Les entreprises britanniques perdent à cause de la langue", *Le Droit*, Ottawa, April 6, 1995, p.37.

It would no doubt be appropriate to copy the British trade minister's example and make Canadian business people more aware of the opportunities for stimulating their interregional and international exchanges and thus improve their performance by making better use of language, especially since Canada has an historical advantage over its main economic partners with respect to operating in more than one language.

I cannot conclude this document without saying something about a most unfortunate paradox that characterizes Canadian bilingualism today and that is closely related to the issues examined in this document: I am speaking of the fact that a number of Francophone minorities in Canada are prey to heavy assimilation, while Anglophones are registering in large numbers in French immersion courses in the hope of becoming bilingual.

This is a big waste of human capital that will be twice as costly when those Francophones who have been assimilated decide to register in immersion to re-learn the language of their ancestors!

Although the total number of bilingual persons is increasing despite assimilation, the situation involves a significant loss for Canada. Some people maintain that bilingualism of Francophones outside Quebec is often the first step toward assimilation. That may very well be true. However, without bilingualism, a number of these communities would be ghettoized or marginalized in relation to the economic and social life of their region, and I think that that would be just as tragic.

In addition to endeavouring to convince governments that are insisting on delaying the implementation of the provisions in the Charter of Rights regarding school governance by language minorities, it seems to me that it would be appropriate to make them and Canadians in general more aware of the importance of bilingualism everywhere in Canada, in these times of major economic changes. Following the example of Moncton or Winnipeg, these communities could try to make better use of the advantages that bilingualism could create for them, for example by stimulating tourism.

This document is intended as a modest contribution toward that promotion of bilingualism's importance from an economic point of view.

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Official Language Implications of Immigration

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Introduction

> "The need to realign the immigration policy with the developmental requirements of Canada's changing economy emerged as a major theme and objective to be pursued. It also became evident that concerns were primarily centred on the ability of the immigration program to enhance the economic welfare of all Canadians."[55]

The immigration and citizenship program will be managed to provide enhanced and direct support to creating the skills base and the environment necessary to use change as an opportunity for growth and advancement.

> "Selection criteria will place greater emphasis on abilities which will help an immigrant adjust to changing labour market needs. Knowledge of English or French is crucial."[56]

The main objectives of Canada's immigration policy, as stated in the *Immigration Act* and the Immigration Regulations of 1978, are to reunite families, to provide safe haven for Convention refugees, and to promote Canada's economic development. Recently the public has focused particularly on the economic ramifications of immigration. These concerns are evident in the opening quotations.

Since knowledge of English or French is crucial in most cases to an immigrant's ability to participate effectively in the Canadian economy, it is vital that those admitted who plan to work acquire these language skills either before coming or soon after arriving in Canada. Knowledge of an official language is important for many other aspects of immigrant settlement as well. Hence there has been considerable interest in monitoring the official language abilities of Canadian immigrants.

The present paper examines the official language attributes of Canadian immigrants who have come at different points in time, with emphasis on the early 1990s. It goes on to outline some of the main economic implications of immigrant official

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[55] Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1994a: 63.

[56] *Ibid*: p. x.

language abilities. This paper ends by briefly noting the pre-Confederation historical connection between immigration and the official languages of Canada.

The official language abilities of immigrants to Canada

Information on official language abilities is collected from immigrants as part of the immigration process.

In addition, the Canadian Census contains information on the English and French language attributes of respondents, including both the native-born and the immigrant populations. The Census collects and provides three different sorts of language information: mother tongue, the language usually spoken at home, and self reported ability to conduct a conversation in either or both of Canada's official languages. An advantage of the Census data is that the information is collected at one point in time—the Census enumeration week—for those who immigrated during various past periods.

Mother tongue is an attribute that presumably does not change with the length of time an immigrant resides in Canada. The language usually spoken at home *may* change over time for some immigrants, particularly for those who live with native born marriage partners. The ability to converse in an official language is the characteristic that is *most likely* to change with increased time in Canada.

The mother tongue and home language attributes of immigrants who arrived prior to 1961 versus in 1981-1991

Based on the 1991 Census, Statistics Canada (Badets and Chui 1994, p. 26) reports that 3% of those who immigrated between 1981 and 1991 listed French as their single mother tongue, while 23% listed English. The comparable figures for immigrants who arrived prior to 1961 are 2% and 37%. Thus, moving from the pre-1961 to the 1981-1991 immigrant cohorts, the representation of those with French as their mother tongue grew by one percentage point, while the representation of those with English as their mother tongue fell by 14 percentage points. Primarily, the reduced English representation is due to increases in recent years in the proportion of immigrants coming from source countries where most people speak neither English nor French.

The home language trends are similar. Of those who immigrated between 1981 and 1991, 4% reported in the 1991 Census that French is the language spoken most often at home while 33% reported English as their home language. The corresponding 1991 Census figures for immigrants who arrived prior to 1961 are 3% and 73%. Thus, the representation of immigrants with French as their home language grew by one percentage point while the English representation fell by 40 percentage points for those who came in 1981-1991 versus those who came before

1961. The fact that the home language percentages are higher than the corresponding mother tongue percentages for English reflects the adoption by many immigrants of English as their home language. This behaviour becomes increasingly common as the length of time since immigration increases. Thus, while 37% of those who came before 1961 reported English as their mother tongue, 73% of these immigrants indicated that they speak English at home. The tendency of French to be adopted as a home language has been far more modest: in the 1991 Census, 2% of those who came before 1961 reported French as their mother tongue and 3% reported French as their home language.

Knowledge of the official languages

Most immigrants—including more than three fourths of those who came between 1981 and 1991, and more than 80% of those who came before 1961—reported in the 1991 Census that they could converse in English but not in French. Approximately 16% of all immigrants reported that they could converse in French but not English, or in both French and English. (See Badets and Chui 1994, pp. 27-28.) All of these figures are higher than the corresponding native tongue and home language percentages. For purposes of integration and settlement, and particularly for labour market-related matters, official language knowledge is probably more important than native tongue or the home language.

The administrative information on official language ability that is collected as part of the immigration process has two advantages over the Census information. First, it is not based simply on self reporting. Second, it can be examined by class of immigrant; there is no information on this in the Censuses. Since 1967, the principal applicants for the independent class of immigrants have been assessed by a point system. Points are allotted for factors such as education and training, occupational skills, the current demand in Canada for the applicant's occupation, the existence of pre-arranged employment, age, and knowledge of English or French. Principal applicants in the assisted relatives class are also assessed according to criteria that include knowledge of English or French. However, business class principal applicants are judged according to business criteria rather than personal characteristics such as official language ability. The remaining classes of immigrants—primarily the refugees, and the dependents of the principal applicants for the independent, business and assisted relatives classes – are also not judged on their official language abilities for the purposes of determining whether they will be accepted as immigrants though ability to adapt to Canada may be a factor for the admission of refugees. Thus, we would expect to find systematic differences in official language abilities by immigrant class. In the remainder of this paper we use the administrative information collected as part of the immigration approval process to examine these patterns. (See Appendix Table 1A for specifics underlying Tables 1 - 3.)

Table 1 shows the distributions of immigrants by class for 1991, 1992 and 1993. The biggest change over these three years is the growth of the family class.

Table 2 shows the official language ability distributions, by year, for all immigrants and for the six immigrant classes distinguished in this paper. The official language impact of the point selection system for the independent immigrants seems evident. Panel 3 shows that the proportion of principal applicants in the independent class who were found to know only English ranges from 68.7% to 72.1%, the proportion who were found to know only French ranges from 8.5% to 10.0%, and the proportion found to be bilingual ranges from 13.3 to 15.2%. These proportions are higher than for the other immigrant classes. Finally, the proportion of the independent class principal applicants who were found to know neither official language fell over the three-year period from 9.2 to 5.6 to 4.7%. The proportions of the other immigrant classes who were found to know neither official language at the time of immigration are considerably higher, as might be expected.

Table 3 shows, for each official language group, the proportions in the specified immigrant classes. From column 1 of this table, it is clear that those arriving in the 1990s who could not converse in either English or French at the time of immigration are predominantly in the family, refugee, and dependents groups. These results suggest a greater role for language training programs which are designed specifically for the needs of these immigrant groups.

Economic implications of the official language abilities of immigrants

The official language abilities of Canadian immigrants affect the Canadian economy through impacts on the employment and earnings of the immigrants themselves, impacts on the learning and subsequent employment opportunities of children, and budgetary impacts due to the costliness of official language training programs for immigrants. Here we briefly outline key aspects of each of these three types of impacts.

Adults immigrating to Canada face many of the same problems of labour market entry encountered by high school graduates and other new entrants to the workforce who are native-born. However, these problems are more severe for those who cannot converse in either of Canada's official languages. The official language abilities of Canadian immigrants affect their labour market prospects in many of the same ways that general literacy qualifications and other official language attributes such as being illiterate or bilingual affect labour market prospects for native-born residents. On average, employment rates and earnings are lower for immigrants who do not know the official language that is predominant in the part of the country in which they reside. This is the case even after controlling for other relevant factors correlated with official language ability such as schooling. On the whole, employment outcomes are worse for those who can only work in immigrant enclave

businesses or in lines of work where there is little reliance on spoken or written communication because they cannot communicate sufficiently well in English or French to compete for other sorts of jobs. On the other hand, bilingualism is associated with higher employment rates and average earnings. Employment rate differentials by official language abilities are particularly large for wives and those immigrating later in life. Members of these two groups are substantially less likely to be in the labour force if they do not know either of the official languages. (See, for example, Badets and Chui 1994, pp. 52-53.) Of course, many of these persons might not choose to participate in the labour market even if they did learn one or both of the official languages.

Table 1-Immigration by immigration class

	1991	1992	1993	1991-1993 Change
Numbers[a]				
All	**230,681**	**252,754**	**253,980**	**+23,299**
Business-Principal Applicants	4,302	6,990	8,322	+4,020
Independents-Principal Applicants	24,382	20,136	24,231	-151
Assisted Relatives-Principal Applicants	7,913	6,627	8,088	+176
Family Class	84,419	96,219	109,653	+25,234
Refugees	35,467	36,608	24,580	-10,887
Dependents of Principal App.; oth.	74,198	86,174	79,106	+4,908
Percent of All				
All	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**0.0**
Business-Principal Applicants	1.9	2.8	3.3	+1.4
Independents-Principal Applicants	10.6	8.0	9.5	-1.1
Assisted Relatives-Principal Applicants	3.4	2.6	3.2	-0.2
Family Class	36.6	38.1	43.2	+6.6
Refugees	15.4	14.5	9.7	-5.7
Dependents of Principal App.; oth.	32.2	34.1	31.1	-1.1

[a]The figures shown are yearly totals from Citizenship and Immigration Canada (1994a) from tables for immigration by language ability for 1991-1993: pp. 7, 37, 51, 43, 23, and 30 for rows 1-6 respectively, where these figures do not include those immigrants for which information on official language ability was missing in the administrative records on which the source document tables are based. For example, the "All" figures in row one of 230,681; 252,754 and 253,980 are 99.96, 99.96 and 99.86 percent of the actual figures for the total numbers of immigrants for 1991, 1992 and 1993 of 230,781; 252,842 and 254,321 shown on p. 2 of the same source document. Similarly, from p. 3 of the source document, we find that the figures corresponding to our 1993 figures in rows 2-6 are 8,325; 24,265; 8,093; 110,106; and 24,543 (the sum of 6,904, 4,719 and 12,920). Our row 7 figures are computed for each year as the row 1 figure minus the sum of the row 2-6 figures. Our 1993 row 7 figure of 79,106 compares with 78,988 for the sum of the figures for various classes of Dependents, Retirees and the Backlog Clearance Program on p. 3 of the source document.

Table 2-Immigration by official language ability[a]

Year	Neither	English only	French only	Bilingual	French only or Bilingual
All					
1991	43.9	45.6	5.4	5.0	10.4
1992	41.1	50.5	4.5	3.9	8.4
1993	43.8	48.8	3.8	3.5	7.3
Business-Principal Applicants					
1991	44.3	48.7	2.0	5.0	7.0
1992	50.8	45.6	1.1	2.5	3.6
1993	50.1	46.2	1.2	2.4	3.6
Independents-Principal Applicants					
1991	9.2	68.7	8.8	13.3	22.1
1992	5.6	69.2	10.0	15.2	25.2
1993	4.7	72.1	8.5	14.7	23.2
Assisted Relatives-Principal Applicants					
1991	33.6	55.1	4.8	6.4	11.2
1992	27.0	67.5	1.6	3.9	5.5
1993	24.3	70.5	1.8	3.4	5.2
Family Class					
1991	51.3	42.7	3.6	2.3	5.9
1992	50.5	44.3	3.0	2.1	5.1
1993	52.6	42.3	3.0	2.0	5.0
Refugees					
1991	64.1	30.5	3.0	2.3	5.3
1992	40.4	51.6	5.1	2.9	8.0
1993	44.7	46.8	5.6	2.9	8.5
Dependents of Principal Applicants; Other					
1991	38.3	47.4	7.6	6.7	14.3
1992	39.4	51.5	5.2	3.8	9.0
1993	44.6	49.5	3.4	2.5	5.9

[a] Computed by dividing the immigration class-language ability group figures in Appendix Table 1A by the respective totals for all immigration classes for 1991, 1992 and 1993 shown in the top panel of Table 1.

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Table 3-Percentage immigration class distributions by language ability group[a]

Year	Neither	English only	French only	Bilingual	French only or bilingual
Business-Principal Applicants					
1991	1.9	2.0	0.7	1.8	1.2
1992	3.4	2.5	0.6	1.8	1.2
1993	3.7	3.1	1.0	2.2	1.6
Independents-Principal Applicants					
1991	2.2	15.9	17.3	27.8	22.4
1992	1.1	10.9	17.4	31.0	23.7
1993	1.0	14.1	21.2	39.7	30.1
Assisted Relatives-Principal Applicants					
1991	2.6	4.1	3.1	4.3	3.7
1992	1.7	3.5	0.9	2.6	1.7
1993	1.8	4.6	1.5	3.1	2.3
Family Class					
1991	42.8	34.3	24.7	16.4	20.7
1992	46.8	33.4	25.4	20.4	23.1
1993	51.9	37.4	34.0	25.0	29.7
Refugees					
1991	22.5	10.3	8.7	7.0	7.9
1992	14.2	14.8	16.2	10.9	13.7
1993	9.8	9.3	14.2	7.9	11.2
Dependents of Principal Applicants; Other					
1991	28.0	33.4	45.5	42.5	44.0
1992	32.7	34.8	39.3	33.2	36.5
1993	31.7	31.6	27.9	22.0	25.1

[a] These percentage point figures were computed by dividing the figures in panels 2-7 of the Appendix Table 1A by the corresponding panel 1 figures in that table.

Parents who come to Canada with dependent children and who do not know either of Canada's official languages cannot help their children with the language of instruction in the schools they enter or with their homework in their school subjects. This, coupled with the difficulties immigrant children face in entering new school systems, may affect the children's school performance and the subsequent areas of educational specialization and job prospects of these children. These effects are delayed and indirect, and we know little about them. Regardless, adequate language

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training for immigrant children is important for the normal functioning of the school programs immigrant children enter, with potential implications for the education of nonimmigrant children as well. As a result, cities such as Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver which have heavy concentrations of immigrants also have highly developed French or English as a Second Language programs within the public school systems.

The costs of official language training programs for immigrants are a third sort of economic impact of the official language abilities of immigrants at the time of immigration. There is the cost of the extra language training for immigrant children provided through the public schools, much of which is absorbed directly or indirectly at the level of the schools and the local school boards, though there are also federal subsidies. In addition, the federal government runs large programs aimed at helping adult immigrants acquire official language skills. The main programs under which the federal government currently subsidizes immigrant official language training are as follows:

> "Federal funding for settlement services is available through such programs as the Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) Program, the Labour Market Language Training (LMLT) Program, the Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program (ISAP), the Adjustment Assistance Program (AAP) and the Host Program."
> "These settlement programs account for almost 1/4 billion dollars of the federal funds allocated for immigration — a level adequate to meet the language and other needs of less than half of the immigrants who need such services."[57]

Adult immigrants who do not know the language of work and immigrant children who do not know the language of instruction in the schools they enter challenge our skills and willingness to provide them with training in English or in French as a second language. Canada has become a world leader in the development of second language training materials (Department of Canadian Heritage 1995, p. 13). By helping to fund opportunities for immigrants to develop their official language skills, the federal government is helping to ensure the realization of the hope stated in the opening quotation of this paper: that our immigration program will "enhance the economic welfare of all Canadians."

Putting the current immigration flows in an historical context

Immigration is what initially determined the dual official languages of Canada. The immigration flows that are relevant in this regard are *not* those documented in the

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[57] Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1994b.

"Historical Perspective" section of Citizenship and Immigration Canada's (1994d, p.2) *Facts and Figures*, and summarized here in Table 4. We must look back before 1867, the time of Confederation.

France established the colony of New France (Quebec) in the early seventeenth century. By 1760, large scale immigration from France and a high colonial birth rate had caused the European population of New France to grow to 65,000 (Troper 1988, p. 1045). In 1763, New France was ceded to the British Empire. At that time, British North America contained approximately 70,000 French and 9,000 English (Commissioner of Official Languages 1988, p. 1176). After the conquest of New France, the British government expected there would be substantial immigration from Britain, but, relatively few British settlers actually came to Canada in those early years (Morton 1994, p. 23).

Table 4-Canadian immigration, 1860-1993

10-year annual averages	
1860-1869	15,638
1870-1879	32,888
1880-1889	84,962
1890-1899	37,247
1900-1909	139,899
1910-1919	186,028
1920-1929	126,422
1930-1939	25,204
1940-1949	42,874
1950-1959	154,464
1960-1969	136,903
1970-1979	144,491
1980-1989	125,982
1990-1993	244,794

Source: Annual immigration figures reported in Citizenship and Immigration Canada (1994d), p. 2.

However, following the American Revolution in 1775, more than 50,000 United Empire Loyalists immigrated to British North America from the United States (Moore 1987, pp. 219-220). They were English-speaking political refugees who had supported Britain during the American Revolution. The Loyalists received land and supplies from the British Government for their allegiance. Harold Troper writes: "Despite the hardships the settlers endured, their plight was undeniably made less severe by the intervention of government agents, a practice to be repeated in Canada many times" (Troper 1988, p. 1045). Between 1791 and 1812, approximately 75,000 "late Loyalists" immigrated to Upper Canada (Ontario) (Bowers and Garod 1987, pp. 26-27). In addition, thousands of Irish, Scots and English immigrated to Canada between 1815 and 1850 (*Ibid.*, p.37).

Around the mid-nineteenth century, there was a great deal of British immigration to Canada. Many of these immigrants later emigrated to the United States. Nevertheless, the net effect of immigration and emigration was that the population of British North America increased from approximately 2 million in 1840 to 4 million by Confederation in 1867. In the 1870-71 Census, Canada's population was officially tallied as 3.6 million, consisting of 1 million French and 2.1 million British (Troper 1988, p. 1047).

These pre-Confederation immigrant flows were large both in comparison with the average annual flows since Confederation that are reported in Table 4 and in comparison with the total population of Canada at the times of immigration. These immigration flows determined the language makeup of the population of British North America as of Confederation. Reflecting the language makeup of the population, the *British North America Act* of 1867 established English and French as the legislative and judicial languages in federal institutions. The fact that English and French became the official languages of Canada is one reason why there has been special interest in monitoring the English and French abilities of subsequent waves of immigrants.

Appendix: Table1A-Immigration by immigration class and language ability*

Year	Neither	English only	French only	Bilingual	French only or Bilingual
All					
1991	101,307	105,312	12,432	11,630	24,062
1992	103,794	127,581	11,502	9,877	21,379
1993	111,282	124,060	9,672	8,966	18,638
Business-Principal Applicants					
1991	1,905	2,094	87	216	303
1992	3,554	3,185	75	176	251
1993	4,171	3,849	100	202	302
Independents-Principal Applicants					
1991	2,244	16,752	2,147	3,239	5,386
1992	1,122	13,940	2,008	3,066	5,074
1993	1,147	17,469	2,052	3,563	5,615
Assisted Relatives-Principal Applicants					
1991	2,661	4,363	384	505	889
1992	1,789	4,472	107	259	366
1993	1,963	5,701	148	276	424
Family Class					
1991	43,341	36,096	3,071	1,911	4,982
1992	48,606	42,665	2,928	2,020	4,948
1993	57,741	46,374	3,294	2,244	5,538
Refugees					
1991	22,754	10,812	1,084	817	1,901
1992	14,774	18,893	1,866	1,075	2,941
1993	10,995	11,501	1,375	709	2,084
Dependents of Principal Applicants; Other					
1991	28,402	35,195	5,659	4,942	10,601
1992	33,949	44,426	4,518	3,281	7,799
1993	35,265	39,166	2,703	1,972	4,675

*Figures by immigration class and language ability groups from Citizenship and Immigration Canada (1994a) from tables for immigration by language ability for 1991-1993: pp. 7, 37, 51, 43, 23 and 30 for panels 1-6 respectively, where these figures do not include those immigrants for which information on official language ability was missing in the administrative records on which the source document tables are based. For each year and

language ability group, the panel 7 figure is computed as the corresponding panel 1 figure minus the sum of the panel 2-6 figures.

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Economic Costs and Benefits of the Official Languages: Some Observations

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Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to make some observations on the economic costs and benefits of the official languages of Canada and draw the appropriate conclusions from them. This objective, in our view, complies with the purpose of the colloquium, which is to seek out new Canadian perspectives on language and the economy. The paper is divided into three parts. The first part is theoretical in nature, the second points out certain Canadian realities, and the third presents some thoughts on Canadian language policies at the dawn of the third millennium. It is supplemented by an appendix presenting some recent data on the socio-economic status of linguistic groups in Quebec.

Some theoretical considerations

This first part of the paper is concerned first with the costs and then with the benefits of bilingualism in a given country.

Costs

Bilingualism imposes a real operating cost on any country that practices it seriously. This cost includes, to varying degrees, the costs associated with economies of scale (duplication of certain public systems), the costs of translation and interpretation and the costs of learning the second language during or after mandatory school attendance. The magnitude of these costs depends on the absolute size of the country's population (N), the geographical distribution of the members of the two communities, the degree of linguistic proximity of the two languages, the existence of foreign suppliers for products in one language (A) or the other (B) and, obviously, on the degree of bilingualism of the society. In general:

- the larger N is, the smaller the per capita costs of bilingualism will be because the fixed costs of bilingualism will be shared among a larger number of agents;
- the greater the geographical concentration of persons speaking A or B, the lower the costs of bilingualism because, in the extreme, it is a case of two monolingual societies;

- the more linguistically similar the languages, the lower the costs of translation and interpretation because the supply of translators and interpreters is greater, given the lower cost of acquiring the other language;

- the larger the A or B communities existing outside the bilingual country the lower the costs of obtaining various products (cultural products, school material, etc.) in either language;

- the more widespread the use of both languages, the higher the costs of bilingualism.

Benefits

The benefits, in our view, may be both individual and collective.

Individual benefits

By individual benefits, we mean benefits that an individual derives from having had to learn two languages during or after his period of mandatory school attendance. We therefore exclude the earnings differentials between bilingual and unilingual persons, which constitute a private benefit associated with a social cost. The principal individual benefit of bilingualism appears to be better developed intelligence after learning two languages among those who are bilingual than among those who are unilingual. Baker (1994) reviews the debate about bilingualism and intelligence. He points out that there has been a change over time from a set of studies indicating that bilingualism had a negative effect on intelligence to a second set indicating no effect and, finally, to a third set showing a positive effect of bilingualism on intelligence and knowledge. He notes the importance of the language of the tests used and of a wider or narrower definition of intelligence. Baker (1994) concludes that "the judgment of the clear majority of researchers tends to be that there are positive links between bilingualism and cognitive functioning ... the evidence that currently exists does lead in the direction of bilinguals having some cognitive advantages over monolinguals" (p. 129). In particular, he notes that "the weight of the evidence suggests that balanced bilinguals have superior divergent (creative) thinking skills" (p. 120), that "the evidence of advantages for bilinguals in terms of metalinguistic awareness seems fairly strong" (p. 124) and that "... bilingual children may be more sensitive than monolingual children in a social situation that requires careful communications...." (p. 125). It should be noted, however, that these results are concerned essentially with children rather than adults and with children who have a good knowledge of both languages.

We may also wonder whether learning music rather than a second language does not provide the same types of benefits in terms of the development of cognitive

skills. Unfortunately, there do not seem to be any studies comparing the benefits of learning a second language to those of learning music.

Collective benefits

To the extent that both languages of a bilingual country are used for foreign trade, bilingualism increases the opportunities for exports and imports compared to unilingualism. In addition, the two languages make the country a receptive place of immigration for a larger number of potential immigrants.

Furthermore, to the extent that language influences ways of thinking and hence of solving problems, a bilingual country will have a greater capacity to contribute to the advancement of knowledge than a unilingual country, assuming that each linguistic community is of sufficient size to have such an impact.

Finally, bilingualism may, in some cases, contribute to the continued existence of one state rather than two. Such a state is larger (population, GDP, area, etc.), and this larger size can result in benefits (economies of scale, negotiating power, etc.) for the two linguistic groups who constitute it.

On the whole, are the benefits greater than the costs? The answer to this question will vary from one society to another.

Some Canadian realities

In this second part of the paper, we first present some facts about the costs and benefits identified previously.

Costs of bilingualism in Canada

We have previously identified five factors theoretically capable of having an impact on the costs of bilingualism. Let us look at them in the case of Canada:

♦ *population size:*

The population of Canada is relatively large: 26.9 million in 1994. The per capita costs of bilingualism are therefore low.

♦ *geographical concentration:*

In 1991, according to Harrison and Marmen (1994), 85.1% of the Francophones (mother tongue) in Canada lived in Quebec and 96.5% in New Brunswick, Quebec or Ontario (Table 2.2). Thus, there is a large concentration of Francophones in Quebec and in the two neighbouring provinces. As for Anglophones, 9.2% live in

Quebec (Table 1.2). This, depending on the more or less territorial nature of bilingualism policies, can reduce its costs.

♦ *linguistic similarity:*

English a nd French are two relatively similar European languages. This facilitates the learning of them.

♦ *existence of linguistic communities outside Canada:*

There is a very large Anglophone community and a large Francophone community outside Canada.

♦ *use of the languages:*

As Table 1 shows, the vast majority of the population of Canada knows only one language, either English or French. Only a majority of Anglophones in Quebec and of Francophones outside Quebec is bilingual.

Table 1-English-French bilingualism by mother tongue, Canada, Quebec and Canada without Quebec, 1981 and 1991

	1981 percentage	1991 percentage
Canada		
Anglophones	7.6	8.5
Francophones	36.2	38.9
Quebec		
Anglophones	53.2	59.4
Francophones	28.7	31.5
Canada without Quebec		
Anglophones	5.3	6.4
Francophones	79.0	81.1

Source: Harrison and Marmen (1994, Table 4.4)

The exact costs of bilingualism in Canada are not accurately known. It may be noted that the public costs of bilingualism are made up of the following elements:

- the federal government's translation and interpretation, language training and bilingualism bonus costs, which are in the order of 110, 70 and 50 million dollars a year, respectively (Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, 1995, Table 3.14);

- the translation costs of provincial governments, which are not huge;

- the reduction in productivity associated with the use of two languages (misunderstanding, delays);
- the cost of maintaining two education and health systems as measured by the unit cost differential between the majority system and the minority system;
- the cost of immersion classes as measured by the cost differential between these classes and regular classes;
- the cost of instruction in the second language rather than in some other subject;
- and that the private costs of bilingualism are incurred by businesses as a result of:
    - the translation of product labels and instructions;
    - the need to provide services to consumers in English and in French;
    - the need to comply with Quebec's language policies.

On the whole, it seems that these costs do not exceed 1/2 of 1% of Canada's GDP. Given, on the one hand, the Canadian tax system and distribution among the regions of the tax base and, on the other, pricing policies of Canadian firms, these costs are probably borne by the Canadian population in general. This is justified in part if the bilingual nature of Canada is one of the main points that distinguishes it from the United States and, in particular, distinguishes the English-speaking Canadian from the English-speaking American. The Francophone minority therefore accounts for a cultural trait for the Anglophones who finance part of its cost.

Benefits of bilingualism to Canada

The individual benefits of bilingualism to Canada seem to us to be small, given that:

- most Canadians are unilingual;
- the majority of declared bilinguals are probably not bilingual enough to enjoy the cognitive benefits of bilingualism. At best, 5% of Canadians, or 1/3 of the 16.3% who are bilingual, may be able to enjoy such benefits.

The collective benefits are more likely to be visible in Canada since the Anglophone and Francophone linguistic groups both constitute societies large and dense enough to be able to trade abroad, attract immigrants and contribute to the advancement of knowledge. In this regard, Quebec can supply North American

expertise in French on the world market and become a more appropriate partner for France than is Belgium.

Language policies

The language policies currently in place in Canada, namely, provincial second-language instruction measures, the *Official Languages Act* (federal and New Brunswick), the *Charter of the French Language* in Quebec and the other provinces' policies on instruction in French for Francophone minorities, have produced the following results:

- a clustering of the Canadian Francophone minority in Quebec, where it forms a large majority, that is viable[58] in the long term and whose recent (1960-1990) improvement in socio-economic status (Appendix) conceals, in my opinion, a problem of decline in the medium term resulting from its low fertility rate and its difficulty in attracting immigrants who can be taught French;

- two sizable Francophone minorities, one in Acadia and the other in eastern Ontario, that are viable in the medium term;

- a series of small Francophone minorities outside New Brunswick, Quebec and Ontario (NBQO) that are not viable in the medium term;

- a sizable non-Francophone minority in Quebec concentrated in Montreal and viable in that region.

To reduce the costs of the bilingualism policy, it would be appropriate to acknowledge the Canadian territorial reality and offer locally produced public services in French only in NBQO and locally produced public services in English in Quebec only in Montreal. This would reduce the costs of duplication while not precluding the offer of centrally produced public services (national forms, broadcasting in both languages, etc.).

To increase the individual benefits of bilingualism, it would be appropriate for the federal government to provide financial support only for educational methods that produce truly bilingual individuals, such as immersion. Similarly, the provinces should require that school boards emphasize these methods.

To increase the collective benefits of bilingualism, Canada must continue to include Quebec as part of it. To this end, language policies aimed at Francophones (and hence Quebec) must take account of the fact that they are an isolated minority

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[58] Viability is measured by long-term linguistic survival, i.e., the absence of linguistic transfer.

living beside a majority that has as its common language (often mother tongue) the *lingua franca*, the world language, English. We therefore recommend a language policy that strengthens the French fact in Quebec (Vaillancourt, 1989, 1992). To this end, it is necessary:

- that the federal government's language policy in Quebec work with rather than against that of the Quebec government by promoting French unilingualism in Quebec, except in Montreal where bilingualism would be permissible;

- that the policy of the Quebec government make French the common language of Quebec by requiring the learning of it by everyone and a knowledge of it by all participants in the internal goods and services market; this will have an impact on immigration;

- that the policy of the Quebec government give all Francophones a genuine opportunity to learn English (English immersion).

The impact of these policies in Quebec in the medium term will be to reduce the Anglophone minority to a strongly bilingual group living in Montreal, a region whose status as bilingual and hence as a meeting place of the two languages would be accepted by the Francophone majority, since French would be the common language there.

Finally, we must envisage the establishment of a Canadian language policy that promotes the retention of languages of origin and the acquisition of a third language by Canadians studying at the post-secondary level. Such a policy would take into account the ties that exist between the various regions of Canada and the rest of the world. It would accordingly seem preferable to promote Spanish or German in Quebec and Japanese or Chinese in British Columbia.

Conclusion

In this paper, we first of all looked at the benefits and costs of bilingualism in theory and in the Canadian context. Afterwards, we advocated some policies that in our view seem likely to increase the net benefits of the costs that Canada incurs from its bilingual nature.

Appendix

Status of French in Quebec

Given the importance of Quebec as the core of the Canadian Francophone community, it should be pointed out that the socio-economic status of Quebec Francophones seems good, as indicated by their gross income (Table A1), the return on their language skills (Table A2) and their control over the Quebec economy (Table A3).

Table A1(a)-Average labour earnings of men in Quebec, 1970, 1980, 1985 and 1990, current $

Language skills (mother tongue)	Men							
	1970		1980		1985		1990	
Ratio	**$**	**RRC**	**$**	**RRC**	**$**	**RRC**	**$**	**RRC**
Unilingual Anglophone	8,171	1.59	17,635	1.22	23,924	1.24	30,034	1.22
Bilingual Anglophone	8,938	1.74	19,562	1.36	26,078	1.36	33,511	1.36
Unilingual Francophone	5,136	-	14,408	-	14,235	-	24,702	-
Bilingual Francophone	7,363	1.43	19,547	1.36	25,923	1.35	33,065	1.34
English-speaking allophone	6,462	1.26	15,637	1.09	20,504	1.07	20,609	0.83
French-speaking allophone	5,430	1.06	13,287	0.92	17,664	0.92	18,503	0.75
Bilingual allophone	7,481	1.46	17,946	1.25	23,729	1.23	22,837	0.92
Other allophone	4,229	0.82	10,003	0.69	12,666	0.66	15,748	0.64
Anglophone/Francophone	-	-	-	-	21,705	1.13	27,044	1.09

Source: 1970 and 1980: Vaillancourt (1988), Table 3.1
1985: Vaillancourt (1991), Table 3.1
1990: Author's calculations

RRC: Ratio compared to reference category (unilingual Francophone)

Table A1(b)-Average labour earnings of women in Quebec, 1970, 1980, 1985 and 1990, current $

Language skills (mother tongue)	Women							
	1970		1980		1985		1990	
Ratio	$	RRC	$	RRC	$	RRC	$	RRC
Unilingual Anglophone	3,835	1.24	10,271	1.17	14,335	1.21	18,844	1.19
Bilingual Anglophone	3,956	1.28	10,759	1.22	14,449	1.22	20,292	1.28
Unilingual Francophone	3,097	-	8,801	-	1,802	-	15,850	-
Bilingual Francophone	3,842	1.24	11,195	1.27	14,718	1.25	20,261	1.28
English-speaking allophone	3,329	1.07	9,753	1.11	12,927	1.10	13,393	0.84
French-speaking allophone	3,241	1.05	8,191	0.93	9,918	0.84	12,647	0.80
Bilingual allophone	3,881	1.25	10,868	1.23	14,060	1.19	16,229	1.02
Other allophone	2,343	0.76	7,539	0.86	8,539	0.72	10,067	0.64
Anglophone/Francophone	-	-	-	-	13,182	1.12	19,135	1.22

Source: 1970 and 1980: Vaillancourt (1988), Table 3.1
1985: Vaillancourt (1991), Table 3.1
1990: Author's calculations

RRC: Ratio compared to reference category (unilingual Francophone)

Table A2(a)-Net effects of language skills and of control variables on labour earnings, men in Quebec, 1970-1990, percentages

Individual skills	Men 1970	1980	1985	1990
Language skills (Ref.: Unilingual Francophone				
Unilingual Anglophone	10.11	-7.16	-12.76	-11.67
Bilingual Anglophone	16.99	0	-3.53	0
Bilingual Francophone	12.61	5.11	5.91	7.28
English-speaking allophone	0	-16.27	-21.01	-34.91
French-speaking allophone	0	-20.03	-25.11	-20.78
Bilingual allophone	6.025	-6.41	-9.08	-20.26
Other allophone	-17.64	-45.11	-33.12	-26.79
Anglophone/Francophone	-	-	-9.87	-7.38
Control variable skills				
Education (Ref.: primary grades 1-4)				
Primary, grades 5-8	5.87	-13.25	0	0
Secondary, grades 9-10	19.98	-6.44	7.34	8.51
Secondary, grades 11-13	35.61	13.46	31.20	31.55
University, 1-2 years	68.34	25.82	49.09	55.21
University, 3-4 years	119.30	63.41	90.25	96.53
University, 5 years or more	140.35	90.74	130.93	131.60
Experience (years)	6.15	5.95	7.11	6.84
Experience^2	-0.093	-0.09	-0.11	-0.10
Weeks worked (each additional week)	3.37	3.53	3.64	3.37
Percentage of variance explained (R^2)	49.10	49.54	50.87	45.03

Source: 1970 and 1980: Vaillancourt (1988, p. 58), Table 3.2
1985: Vaillancourt (1991, p. 30), Table 3.2
1990: Author's calculations

Table A2(b)-Net effects of language skills and of control variables on labour earnings, women in Quebec, 1970-1990, percentages

Individual skills	Women 1970	1980	1985	1990
Language skills (Ref.: Unilingual Francophone				
Unilingual Anglophone	0	-4.60	0	0
Bilingual Anglophone	0	0	0	4.26
Bilingual Francophone	9.73	7.50	9.01	11.24
English-speaking allophone	0	0	0	-11.11
French-speaking allophone	22.82	0	-9.47	-8.52
Bilingual allophone	11.10	0	5.32	0
Other allophone	0	0	0	-13.18
Anglophone/Francophone	-	-	0	0
Control variable skills				
Education (Ref.: primary grades 1-4)				
Primary, grades 5-8	0	11.48	-14.47	0
Secondary, grades 9-10	0	0	-8.79	0
Secondary, grades 11-13	35.06	22.71	19.30	39.02
University, 1-2 years	73.66	58.08	50.58	83.04
University, 3-4 years	135.05	86.51	89.14	130.94
University, 5 years or more	152.27	128.7	114.68	178.47
Experience (years)	2.06	2.00	4.86	4.68
Experience^2	-0.03	-0.03	-0.08	-0.08
Weeks worked (each additional week)	4.10	4.35	4.27	3.85
Percentage of variance explained (R^2)	46.71	50.26	49.04	44.23

Source: 1970 and 1980: Vaillancourt (1988, p. 58), Table 3.2
1985: Vaillancourt (1991, p. 30), Table 3.2
1990: Author's calculations

Table A3(a)-Ownership by employers in Quebec by sector, 1961, 1978, 1987 and 1991, percentage of control

		Jobs under control			
		Non-Canadian	Anglophone Canadian	Francophone Canadian	Total
Agriculture	1961	0.0	8.7	91.3	100
	1978	0.0	8.2	91.8	100
	1987	0.3	12.2	87.5	100
	1991	0.7	2.3	97.0	100
Forestry	1961	ND	ND	ND	100
	1978	37.7	28.9	33.4	100
	1987	0.0	7.7	92.3	100
	1991	1.0	11.3	87.7	100
Mining	1961	40.4	53.1	6.5	100
	1978	64.9	18.1	17.0	100
	1987	24.6	40.4	35.0	100
	1991	24.1	45.9	30.0	100
Manufacturing	1961	31.3	47.0	21.7	100
	1978	33.5	38.6	27.8	100
	1987	22.5	38.2	39.3	100
	1991	24.5	33.5	42.0	100
Construction	1961	14.1	35.2	50.7	100
	1978	7.1	18.5	74.4	100
	1987	2.7	21.8	75.5	100
	1991	3.1	10.1	86.8	100
Transportation, storage, communications and other public utilities	1961	8.3	55.3	36.4	100
	1978	4.4	53.4	42.2	100
	1987	4.9	50.2	44.9	100
	1991	4.3	44.8	50.9	100

Source: *La propriété de l'économie du Québec en 1991 selon le groupe d'appartenance linguistique* [Ownership of the Quebec economy, by linguistic group membership], François Vaillancourt and Michel Leblanc. Montreal: Office de la langue française, 1993. p. 42-43.

Table A3(b)-Ownership by employers in Quebec by sector, 1961, 1978, 1987 and 1991, percentage of control

		Jobs under control			
		Non-Canadian	Anglophone Canadian	Francophone Canadian	Total
Trade	1961	11.5	39.3	50.5	100
	1978	17.0	32.0	51.0	100
	1987	8.2	34.0	57.8	100
	1991	10.2	23.7	66.1	100
Financial institutions	1961	21.1	53.1	25.8	100
	1978	12.1	43.1	44.8	100
	1987	7.2	34.6	58.2	100
	1991	7.6	38.7	53.7	100
Services	1961	0.0	28.6	71.4	100
	1978	3.8	43.1	75.0	100
	1987	2.7	34.6	75.7	100
	1991	3.6	38.7	76.8	100
Public administration	1961	0.5	47.7	51.8	100
	1978	0.0	32.8	67.2	100
	1987	0.0	33.0	67.0	100
	1991	0.0	34.8	65.2	100
Total	1961	13.6	39.3	47.1	100
	1978	13.9	31.2	54.8	100
	1987	7.8	30.6	61.6	100
	1991	8.7	26.2	65.1	100

Source: *La propriété de l'économie du Québec en 1991 selon le groupe d'appartenance linguistique* [Ownership of the Quebec economy, by linguistic group membership], François Vaillancourt and Michel Leblanc. Montreal; Office de la langue française, 1993, p. 42-43.

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Official Languages and the Economy: Community Perspectives

How Linguistic Minority Communities Contribute to the Economic Well-being of Their Regions

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Introduction

Is there a relationship between language and national output? Does a society which is unified by a common language experience a higher rate of growth in its gross domestic product than one where the society is linguistically divided by the use of two languages, or fragmented through the use of several? If the answer is yes, then what can be said about a country like Canada, which is officially bilingual? Does bilingualism contribute to or detract from the growth in national output? Economists are not accustomed to answering such questions, nor are they well equipped to do so.

Traditional economic theory, when considering the question of an efficient allocation of resources, assumes an unchanging distribution of income and takes it as a given that society is homogeneous. Economists are not usually faced with the effects of such factors as language on the efficient allocation of resources. Similarly, there is a paucity of literature on how economists can examine the question of the relationship between language and gross domestic output.

There are two difficulties in using traditional growth theory to analyse the effects of language on output. One difficulty is on the input side, where economists tend to look at factors of production or resources that can be easily quantified and valued in money terms, such as natural resources, labour, and capital. Economists tend to shy away from non-quantifiable resources that they cannot easily value in money terms. Language, as a variable, is not easily quantifiable. Language has nevertheless been considered as "a resource and can be taken into account in planning [economic growth and development]." [59] The other difficulty with economic growth theory lies on the output side, where economists tend to measure the well-being and progress of society in terms of the value of goods and services produced in the economy. That a society has become more cultured or enjoys more leisure activities through the use of one or more languages is not translated into "products" easily

[59] See B.H. Jernudd and J. Das Gupta. "Towards a Theory of Language Planning" in Rubin, J. and Jernudd, B.H. (eds.) *Can Language Be Planned? Sociolinguistic Theory and Practice for Developing Nations*. Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1971. p. 196.

quantifiable in such traditional measures of well-being as growth in gross domestic product or national output.

The study of *language planning* might lend some clues for economists studying the link between language and economic growth and development. Linguists and sociologists have studied the effects of language on the political and social structure of society. Herbert Kelman of Harvard University developed the thesis "that language is a uniquely powerful instrument in unifying a diverse population and in involving individuals and subgroups in the national system."[60] A common language builds trust and improves communication. [61] Economic development theory has long recognized the importance of both these factors in the progress of a nation's economy. Sociolinguistic specialist Joshua Fishman claimed that "economic growth and progress toward linguistic unity go hand in hand." [62] However, Kelman does add: "some of the very features of language that give it this [unifying] power under some circumstances may, under other circumstances, become major sources of disintegration and internal conflict within a national system." [63]

In a country like Canada, and in subregions such as the Gaspé and Prince Edward Island, bilingualism can both enhance and detract from economic development at the national or regional levels. Language planners, such as Thorburn and Jernudd, describe an approach to choosing an optimum language planning alternative by using cost-benefit models for decision-making.[64] Similarly, economists could

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[60] H. Kelman, "Language as an Aid and Barrier to Involvement in the National System" in Rubin, J. and Jernudd, B.H. (eds.) *Can Language Be Planned? Sociolinguistic Theory and Practice for Developing Nations.* Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1971. p. 21.

[61] *Op. cit.* page 34.

[62] C.M. Eastman. *Language Planning: An Introduction.* Chandler & Sharp Publishers, San Francisco, 1983, page 65. See Joshua A. Fishman, "Some Contrasts Between Linguistically Homogeneous and Linguistically Heterogeneous Polities," in Fishman, J., Ferguson C., and Das Gupta J. (eds.) *Language Problems of Developing Nations.* John Wiley and Sons, New York, 1968. p. 53-68.

[63] H. Kelman, "Language as an Aid and Barrier to Involvement in the National System" in Rubin, J. and Jernudd, B.H. (eds.) *Can Language Be Planned? Sociolinguistic Theory and Practice for Developing Nations.* Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1971. p. 21.

[64] J. Rubin and B.H. Jernudd, "Introduction: Language Planning as an Element in Modernization", in Rubin, J. and Jernudd, B.H. (eds.) *Can Language Be Planned? Sociolinguistic Theory and Practice for Developing Nations.* Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1971. p. xxi.

employ the theory of cost-benefit analysis to assess the conflicting outcomes of bilingualism on the economy.

Language as a resource

The Official Languages Support Programs Branch, Department of Canadian Heritage, clearly recognizes linguistic duality and bilingualism as a resource.[65] It regards a bilingual workforce as more mobile, [more adaptable], more productive in activities centred on language-based services, and able to facilitate communication in doing business outside the country.[66] Our nation's dualistic reality increases our export potential, and thus enhances the value of national output and increases national employment. The fact that Canadian producers are already accustomed to producing bilingual packaging and dealing in a second language gives them an advantage over producers from other countries that have not yet broken the psychological or practical barriers of working, and supplying goods and services, in a second language.[67] More tourists come to Canada because of its dualistic nature than would do so otherwise. There are also niche service exports based on language, such as translation services, linguistic technology, and second-language teaching.[68] For example, the Banque Nationale du Canada has been able to export banking software it developed for use in its own branches to la Francophonie.[69] "The presence of vital linguistic communities living side by side in many of Canada's regions does more than express the linguistic duality of the country; it also enhances the economic life in the region [in the following ways]:

- the presence of a bilingual workforce can influence corporations considering investment in a region;

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[65] Canada. Department of Canadian Heritage. Official Languages Support Programs Branch. "The Economic Benefits of Linguistic Duality and Bilingualism", monograph, Ottawa, Feb. 13, 1995.

[66] *Ibid.*, p. 1.

[67] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

[68] *Ibid.*

[69] Based on an interview with a Bank official for the study: Pierre-Marcel Desjardins and George J. De Benedetti, *A Study of Atlantic Canada's Interprovincial and Foreign Exports for 1991*. Research Report No. 11. The Canadian Institute for Research on Regional Development. Moncton, March 1993.

- the parallel or diversified activities of a non-homogeneous regional population can lead to a synergy where ideas and methods from different communities contribute to the dynamics of a local region;

- the existence of educational or cultural institutions serving the minority communities can encourage community members to continue living in their region where they, in turn, can contribute to the economic prosperity and social fabric of their region;

- the presence of two or more communities co-existing in a region can be seen as more welcoming to outsiders who may consider establishing themselves;

- minority communities often have the will and the means to create new institutions and establishments which will further enhance the region's employment base and buying power."[70]

The purpose of this paper is to examine the relationship between minority language communities and economic development at the local and regional levels.[71] Do minority communities contribute to the economic well-being of their regions? We will examine two case studies of minority communities, how they participate in local development, and how they contribute to the economic well-being of their regions. The first will be the Francophone minority of Prince County in Prince Edward Island, and the second will be the Anglophone minority on the Gaspé coast in Quebec. Both geographic areas are economically depressed by national standards with higher-than-average unemployment rates and lower-than-average incomes.

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[70] Canada. Department of Canadian Heritage. Official Languages Support Programs Branch. "The Economic Benefits of Linguistic Duality and Bilingualism", monograph, Ottawa, Feb. 13, 1995.

[71] This paper is based on a larger ongoing study of two minority linguistic communities in Prince County, P.E.I. and the Gaspé, and their contributions to local and regional development. The study contains economic profiles of the regions and details of more than 40 interviews in the communities themselves. The purpose of the interviews, based on a cross-section of the communities, was to get the perspective of people in the selected communities on specific questions, which were asked in each locale. Accordingly, the answers to the questions often reflected people's impressions of events, and it was not possible to verify all statements by respondents for accuracy. However, how people perceive facts is often as important as, or more important than, the facts themselves. There is a certain value in having such perspectives.

Mr. Rene Boudreau of the Canadian Institute for Research on Regional Development helped in the preparation of the profiles and with some of the interviews in Prince County, P.E.I. for the larger study. The authors acknowledge his contribution.

The Francophone minority in Prince County, P.E.I.

West of Summerside there is a Francophone enclave, mainly of Acadian descent, known as "the Évangéline region" which comprises Wellington and the surrounding communities of Abrams Village, Mont Carmel, Cap Egmont, St. Chrisostome, St. Philippe, Baie-Egmont, St. Hubert, St. Gilbert, Urbainville, Maximeville, St. Timothée and St. Raphael. There are also Francophones of Acadian descent at the northwestern tip of the Island, in the communities of Tignish, Palmer Road, and St. Louis. The Acadians in this latter region are much more assimilated than their counterparts in Évangéline, where there are French schools and thriving French communities. Approximately 2,500 persons whose mother tongue is French live in Évangéline[72] and 1,100 live in the Tignish-Palmer Road area[73]. More detailed statistical profiles of the West Prince Francophone communities follow which give an indication of the economic vitality of the linguistic minority community.

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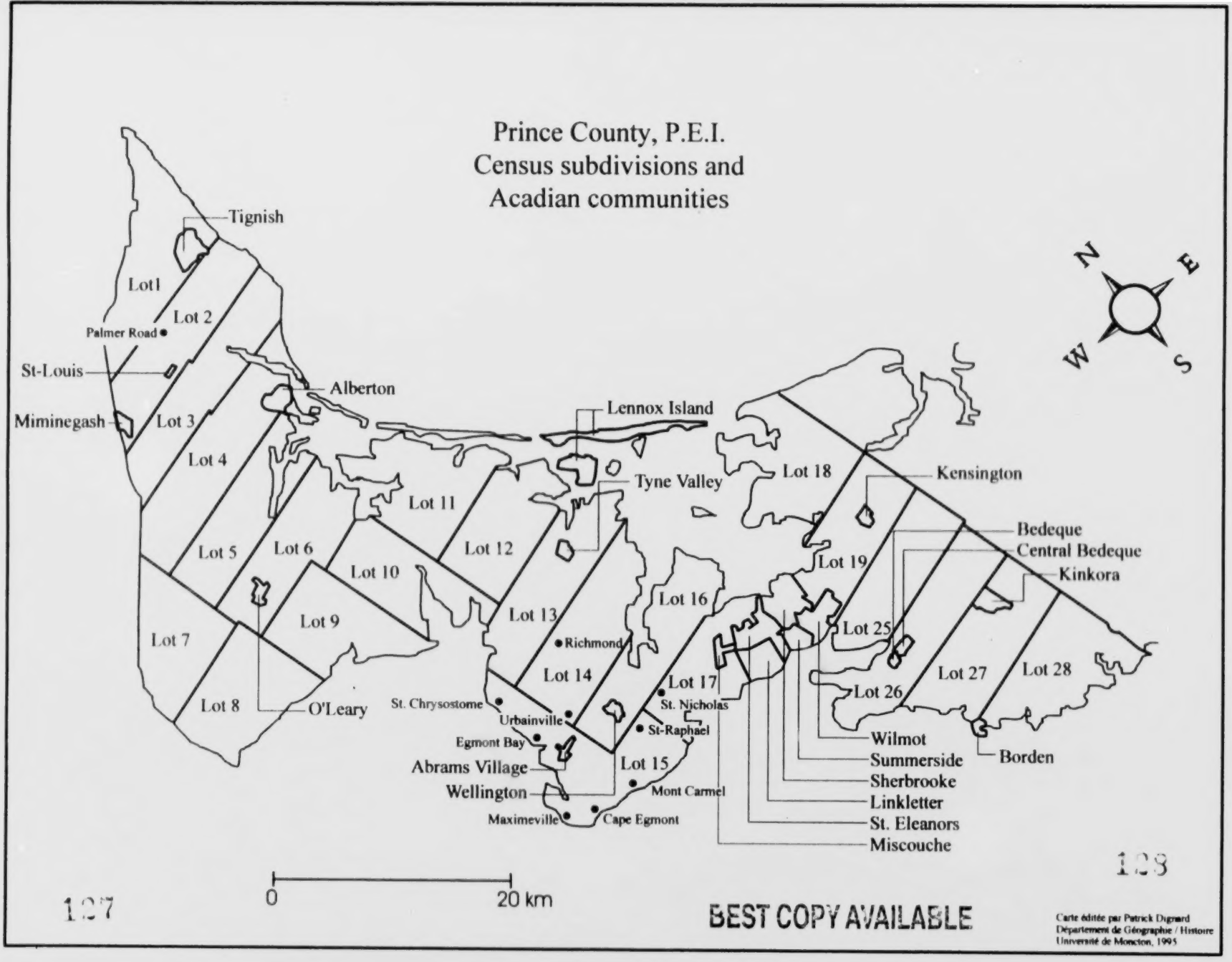
[72] Based on an interview with Mr. Armand Arsenault, Directeur du Centre de Services Régional Évangéline, Wellington, P.E.I., March 1995.

[73] *Ibid.*


Prince County, P.E.I.
Census subdivisions and
Acadian communities
N
E
W
S
Tignish
Lot1
Lot 2
Palmer Road
St-Louis
Alberton
Miminegash
Lot 3
Lot 4
Lennox Island
Tyne Valley
Lot 18
Kensington
Lot 11
Lot 12
Lot 5
Lot 6
Lot 10
Lot 19
Bedeque
Central Bedeque
Kinkora
Lot 16
Lot 13
Lot 9
Lot 7
Richmond
Lot 25
Lot 14
Lot 17
Lot 27
Lot 28
Lot 26
St. Nicholas
Lot 8
O'Leary
St. Chrysostome
Urbainville
St-Raphael
Egmont Bay
Wilmot
Summerside
Borden
Abrams Village
Lot 15
Sherbrooke
Wellington
Mont Carmel
Linkletter
Maximeville
Cape Egmont
St. Eleanors
Miscouche
0
20 km
127
128
BEST COPY AVAILABLE
Carte éditée par Patrick Dignard
Département de Géographie / Histoire
Université de Moncton, 1995

A community's contribution to its region depends on its relative regional vitality. This vitality finds expression in its members' involvement and commitment in all areas, which naturally includes the economy. For a better assessment of the contributions of the linguistic minorities being studied here, we offer a comparative profile that sets out the actual capability of each minority in its regional context.

The Francophone or Acadian minority of Prince County, Prince Edward Island, is our first such group. Of the 6,000 or so Francophones[74] reported in the 1991 Census for this province, three-quarters were living in this county at the west end of the Island. This minority represents 10% of the county's population, as compared with 4.4% for the whole province. The fact that the group is mainly concentrated in the Evangéline region where Acadians form a strong majority lends it greater demographic and political weight.

Table 1-Francophone Groups in Prince County, 1991*

	No. of Franco.	Regional share	Regional Franco. %
Evangeline region (Lots 14-16 + Abrams Vill. and Wellington	1,710	42.0	52.2
Summerside region (including St. Eleanors and Miscouche)	1,160	28.5	7.6
North Prince region (Lots 1-5 with Tignish et al.	1,030	25.3	11.2
Other districts	175	4.2	1.1
Total Francophones	**4,075**	**100.0**	**9.4**

Source: 1991 Canada Census, authors' own compilation.

* The groups in this table were chosen arbitrarily and are to be used only for guidance. The Évangéline region, for example, with boundaries that exceed those cited here, apparently has a Francophone population of 2,500.

Prince's Acadian population is essentially rural, although about a third of it is concentrated in a few towns and communities around Summerside, the regional centre for the west Island. The main Francophone groups are found in the area covered by Lots 14-16, including the chiefly Francophone communities of Abram's Village, Mont Carmel and Wellington (see map). We find another significant

[74] Who reported French as their mother tongue: this includes single as well as multiple answers.

concentration (28%) in Summerside and such adjacent communities as St. Eleanors and Miscouche. One Francophone in four lives in the north end of the county, especially Lots 1 and 2 that encompass the communities of Tignish, Palmer Road, and St. Louis.

Although disadvantaged economically, Prince County is not the worst-off area in the Atlantic region. The presence of an urban regional centre, Summerside, helps to raise the profile of the entire county. This census agglomeration numbers more than 15,000 people (7,500 in the town itself), 35% of the county's population. However, the Summerside district attracts 39% of the county's labour force and generates 41% of its employment income. The resource sector holds a commanding position in the economy of this island region. Almost one job in three is directly attached to this sector, as compared with 25% for the province and an average of 20% for the Atlantic Provinces. More Acadians than Anglophones are drawn to this sector.

Table 2-Labour Force Distribution by Industrial Sector, 1991

	Prince County					
	Total	**Franco.**	**Anglo.**	**P.E.I.**	**Atlantic**	**Canada**
Resource sector[1]	31.2	34.3	30.8	24.6	20.5	20.6
Traditional services[2]	26.4	25.3	26.6	28.3	29.0	29.7
Financial services[3]	3.8	2.6	4.0	5.2	6.9	11.5
Public sector[4]	24.0	24.3	24.0	28.2	28.9	24.0

Source: Statistics Canada, 1991 Census: authors' own compilation.
[1] Primary activities (agriculture, fishing, forestry and mines) and manufacturing.
[2] Wholesale and retail, accommodation and restaurants and personal services.
[3] Business services and the financial and insurance sector.
[4] Government services, education and health.

The public sector[75] also holds a strong position in the county. It employs 23% of the workforce, a modest proportion in an Island and Atlantic context with an overall level of 27%. On the other hand, the average income in this sector during 1991 was $21,400, as against $13,700 in the goods-producing industries. This higher income generation is explained by the fact that jobs are less seasonal in this sector and salaries in the public domains of health, education and government are generally higher.

[75] The public sector encompasses the areas of education, health and government services, including defence.

The latest census reveals significant disparities between the Francophones and Anglophones of Prince in economic terms. These disparities are explained by an older demographic structure among Francophones that is accompanied by lower labour-market participation, less education and a less favourable occupational structure. In 1991, the Acadian minority showed an appreciably lower Demographic Dependency Ratio (DDR)[76] than the one noted for the Anglophones (50.7 as against 56.4). This lower ratio gives the Francophones no advantage, however, as their group has many fewer young people and appreciably more seniors (cf. Table 3). Almost 20% of Prince's Acadians are aged 65 and up, as compared with 12% for the Anglophones, which approximates the national average of 11.6%. Youths account for only 24% of the county's Francophone population, as compared with 40% for the Anglophones. The Atlantic and national averages are 37% and 35% respectively.

Table 3-Demographic Structure of Prince County Francophones and Anglophones, 1991

	Youths < 25	Average age (25-34)	35 and +	DDR
Francophones	24.0	17.8	58.5	50.7
Anglophones	40.3	16.1	43.5	56.4
Atlantic	37.2	17.0	45.8	49.3
Canada	35.0	17.8	47.2	48.1

Source: 1991 Canada Census.

How are we to explain this distortion among Francophones? We see two reasons here. First, there is the emigration of young adults who leave for the outside for want of an accommodating structure in the region. These young people represent an appreciable loss of demographic potential, since the region is also losing their future descendants. Secondly, we may suspect some loss through inter-ethnic

[76] The Demographic Dependency Ratio is the ratio of the potential labour force (ages 15-64) to the sum of the youth (under age 15) and senior (65 and +) populations multiplied by 100.

unions.[77] For whatever reason, this demographic imbalance is not healthy and predisposes Acadian society to serious problems in the future.[78]

Another element of this disparity is that the Prince Acadians are (at 61%) less active participants in the labour market than the Anglophones, 69% of whom are working. This latter rate is comparable to the Atlantic and national averages. Added to limited job-market access, the Acadian minority seems equally disadvantaged in terms of occupations. Some 23% of its labour force is in sectors with above-average pay levels, whereas 30% of the county's Anglophone workers are in these so-called "high-paying" sectors (cf. Table 4). The sole exception is in education, where there is a stronger Francophone presence. The reason for this is the Acadians' control of their school system. By contrast, the most glaring imbalances seem to be in transportation and health. In five of the six sectors cited in Table 4, pay levels for Francophones are appreciably lower, and their average annual income is also much lower than that of their Anglophone workmates.

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[77] It is well-known that a parent from the "Francophone" minority forming an alliance with a spouse from the "Anglophone" majority ends in the great majority of cases with the adoption of the majority language, which very often results in the assimilation of the children.

[78] The emigration phenomenon is not exclusive to Francophones, but a problem common to all marginalized rural areas. Since, however, the Acadians of Prince County are also dealing with an unfavourable employment structure, we can understand how youth emigration affects this group more.

Table 4-Percentage of Labour Force in High-paying Sectors, 1991

Occupation	Average annual salary in 1991	Labour force % Franco.	Anglo.	Incomes of Franco./Anglo.
Management	$28,880	4.8%	7.4%	0.89
Teaching	24,940	4.5	3.8	0.92
Health	23,585	2.9	5.2	0.69
Tech. Occupations	21,855	3.6	4.7	0.72
Transportation	20,625	3.1	4.7	1.05
Manufacturing & Assembly	19,040	4.1	4.5	0.66
Total - Occ. > Average		23.0%	30.3%	

Source: 1991 Canada Census, authors' own compilation.

These figures attest to a structural weakness that clearly works against the Acadian minority of Prince County. This situation is the product of numerous factors. Without overlooking its historical and political causes (the Acadians' confinement to inhospitable, out-of-the-way places and the obstacles restricting their role in public life) along with their cultural heritage (submissiveness to the clergy and disengagement from entrepreneurial values), we find a range of factors to account for this weakness. The most obvious ones are connected with demography (relatively elderly structure), type of settlement (rural way of life), and general level of education. We have already commented on the first two factors. With respect to education, the data are clear: 51% of the county's Francophone workforce has not completed secondary school, as compared with 41% of Anglophones. The applicable Atlantic average is 33%, while nationally only 28% of the workforce has this educational level. At the other extreme, the percentage of Francophone workers with university studies to their credit is 11, as compared to 18% for the Anglophone workers. In the Atlantic region and in Canada generally, at least one-quarter of the workforce has university experience.

The relative disparities faced by the Acadian minority of Prince thus stem partly from the fact that they begin with a demographic structure that is appreciably older and less educated. However, this overall image has to be qualified. In the first place, socioeconomic characteristics vary considerably between the Francophones of the Évangéline-Summerside region and those living elsewhere in the county. In the former area, Acadians are very active participants in economic life, with a high percentage of their workforce in the technical and professional sectors. They are even achieving parity with their Anglophone neighbours in penetration of the public sector, chiefly through the school sector. The vitality of the Acadian minority group does not depend solely on these criteria, however. Demographic structure, job

distribution and level of education in the labour force obviously affect their relative economic vitality. However, we must not underestimate these Acadians' community cohesiveness and organization, especially in the economic sphere. The Évangéline region has shown great resolve in the past and been able to establish a relatively efficient organization based on co-operation and mutual assistance. The entrepreneurial climate has been greatly enhanced in this minority. Today's Acadian young people have the tools and especially the attitudes that can ease their adjustment to the business world. These assets are not truly reflected in the statistical profiles.

Access to the job market has to be improved for the Acadian minority group, however. By "improvement," we refer in particular to range and especially quality of positions. The Acadian level of penetration into specialized areas is still low. Expanded access to services is required, especially to dynamic services, and such public services as health and government. At the same time, efforts have to be made to keep the young people home, especially the ones with technical and university experience, so that they can help to diversify an economic base which is still too resource-oriented. There has been an interesting breakthrough in the field of education that impacts directly on the Acadians' occupational structure. The advance, however, also has to occur in other sectors as well, targeting senior managerial functions as far as possible in both the public and the private sectors. Herein lies the importance of keeping and attracting the Acadian young people, especially the ones who have completed courses and built up enriching work histories in the outside world: hence, too, the importance of enhancing and expanding the regional reception capacity. The surest way of doing this is by managing the region's social, community and, above all, economic development. This takeover of responsibility for development is already happening in the Acadian population of the Évangéline region.

The vitality of the linguistic minority community in Évangéline

Although Évangéline is not an incorporated area, the various communities in the region effectively function as one community in terms of economic development. There is one industrial commission called *Commission Industrielle de la Baie Acadienne*. It was established in 1978, and is responsible for four communities in West Prince. Two members of the board are from Wellington, two from Baie-Egmont, and two from Mont Carmel. The commission encourages interchange among community leaders to promote economic development, through activities such as breakfast meetings. They also promote existing businesses and help potential entrepreneurs establish new businesses. One of the commission's capital projects was to create a *Centre Commercial* in Wellington. This small shopping centre was subsequently turned over to the private sector. Included in the complex is a drug store, medical offices, a small restaurant, and a consumer cooperative which moved from older quarters.

The industrial commission then bought the building which had housed the consumers' cooperative and turned it into a *Centre d'affaires communautaire*, which acts as a centre for several agencies. Among them is the *Centre de Services Régional*, which is a government office created in 1982 to provide all provincial services in French and English. As well, it provides office services to volunteer groups. The Centre also houses the *Secrétariat des affaires francophones*, which provides translation services for provincial government departments.

Funding for the secretariat comes through a federal-provincial cooperation agreement to promote the French language in P.E.I. The federal government's share is approximately $1.5-$1.6 million, and the provincial share is approximately $800,000 annually. The agreement not only enables the provision of French services in the province, but also enables the promotion of economic development for the Francophone community. There is also an agreement between the Province of Quebec and P.E.I., whereby each province contributes approximately $40,000 annually.[79] Two other agreements exist, which do not receive funding: one is between the Maritime Provinces and P.E.I., and the other is between Louisiana and P.E.I.

Another institution housed in the *Centre d'affaires communautaire* is *la Société éducative de l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard*. This is the first post-secondary institution for Francophones on the Island. It was established in October 1994 through the initiative of the *Société Saint Thomas d'Aquin*. The multimedia centre in the building, under the direction of Mr. Aubrey Cormier, provides access to the curriculum of *Collège de l'Acadie* in Nova Scotia for the purpose of distance adult education. There are programs funded by Human Resources Development Canada to integrate Francophone women into the labour force, with a coordinator in the building, and an entrepreneurship programme for the young. Human Resources Development Canada also sponsors training courses at the multimedia centre in the building. The Department of Canadian Heritage supports second language training courses at the centre. This postsecondary institution is provincially funded through an annual grant of $40,000 and an additional $15,000 paid annually for services.[80] The multimedia centre is plugged into the Internet and is a model for other communities on the Island and elsewhere.

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[79] Information on funding was obtained from an interview with Mrs. Claudette Arseneau-Thériault, *directrice, Secrétariat des affaires francophones*, Wellington, March 1995.

[80] From an interview with Mr. Aubrey Cormier, *directeur général de la Société éducative de l'Î.-P.-É.*, Wellington, March 1995.

Other occupants of the *Centre d'affaires Communautaire* are the industrial commission, which owns the building, the regional committee of the *Société Saint-Thomas d'Aquin*, an accounting firm from Summerside which provides services in the French language, *l'Office des Catéchèses de Maritimes*, the coordinator of *Les Jeux de l'Acadie*, and some agents of the provincial government, such as a full-time French speech pathologist from Health and Community Services, representatives of Economic Development and Tourism, the Cultural Heritage and Recreational Division of the Department of Education, a fish and wildlife officer from Environmental Resources, and the Director of the Regional Service Centre and his secretary, who are staff members of the Department of the Provincial Treasury. As well, representatives from federal agencies such as ACOA, FBDB, and CMHC use the facilities on their visits to clients in the region.

This *Centre d'affaires communautaire* is a promising innovation that not only provides a place where clients can receive many services, but also provides a locale for agents and agencies, catering to the needs of the Francophones in the immediate area, to interact with each other. Such a centre can act as a model for the provision of services to language minority groups in other areas.

Other development institutions in the region are the *Société touristique, Conseil de coopération*, the risk capital arm of the *Caisse Populaire*, and the West Prince Community Futures with its lending arm, West Prince Ventures. Although the SDE (*Société de développement de la région Évangéline*) developed a strategic plan for the area, there has been no implementation of any development plan for the region. Under a proposed reorganisation of economic development agencies in the Province, the Gardiner-Penfield Report has recommended one Regional (Economic) Development Agency (RDA) for Évangéline, East Prince, Queens, and Kings. If this proposal were adopted, the French mandate of the local industrial commission would be destroyed. There was a counterproposal from the community in Evangeline that there could be one RDA for Évangéline and Miscouche. That would give this RDA a local mandate, so it could act as an umbrella group and be sensitive to the needs of the Acadian community.

One major strength of the region is the co-operative movement. The region has the highest co-op density in Canada. There are approximately nineteen co-operatives in Évangéline, which serve various needs of the people, ranging from cable-tv services to a community-operated funeral parlour. The young are attuned to forming co-operatives, even in the schools. There is also a sizeable pool of educated volunteers in the area. When the Acadian Games (*Les Jeux de l'Acadie)* were put on by the region, there were 1,200 volunteers out of a population of approximately 2,500 Francophones. This strength derives in part from the homogenous nature of the society in terms of the French language and the Roman Catholic religion. This cohesive force in language, culture, religion, and pride in community carries over to development initiatives.

How then does the Francophone community in Évangéline participate in local development initiatives? We stated at the start of this paper that Prince County is, by national standards, an economically depressed region. We have also mentioned the strength of the Évangéline region in being able to unite and undertake projects cooperatively. That having been said, there is little local economic planning—outside of tourism—in the region, because of the lack of present economic opportunity. There is, however, a strong commitment by the Acadian community to develop the area, and hence its desire to have a Regional (Economic) Development Area designated for Évangéline. The language has been preserved through the education system; educating children in French is one necessary condition to preserving the language. The other necessary condition is to be able to provide employment locally, so that Francophones stay in the region instead of emigrating. This has been achieved to some degree in this region.

How then does the Francophone community in Évangéline contribute to the Island's economy and to the Canadian economy? The Tourist Committee estimates that 90,000 visitors come to the Évangéline region, most of them from Quebec, New Brunswick, and Louisiana. French-speaking tourists, or Acadians from away seeking their roots, are glad to visit where they will be welcomed in their native language. Also, many Anglophones whose children are enrolled in French immersion courses journey to the region for the cultural experience and exposure. The estimated $3 million spent by these tourists is a substantial contribution to the Island economy, relative to the 5 percent proportion of the Francophone population. The Evangeline region, with the co-operation of the province, is establishing an international dance festival which is expected to attract 200 dancers annually. Such cultural special events will attract additional tourists. According to the Tourist Committee, tourism should increase by 20 % once all plans in this regard have been carried out.

The Évangéline area has taken the lead in training entrepreneurs in French, through its education centre in Wellington. The fact that special programmes for youth and women have been developed will ensure growth in the pool of entrepreneurs that can function in both languages, on the Island and in the rest of Canada. Many youth from the area who wish to go on to university have gone to the Université de Moncton. Some of these graduates have stayed in New Brunswick or moved to other parts of Canada. Others have returned to Prince Edward Island. Wherever they are in Canada, they are making a contribution by being able to participate as bilingually trained persons, and some of them as entrepreneurs filling special niches related to providing Francophone services.

The education centre in Wellington with its multimedia capabilities can serve as a model for other communities to adopt. Already, its expertise in providing distance education, especially in the French language, is being exported to the rest of the Island and elsewhere in Canada. With this goes the transfer of new technology.

The significant use being made of distance learning access to the *Collège de l'Acadie* by the people of the Évangéline region not only serves the purpose of buttressing the community's education in its own language, and can be seen as a product or service to the community, but it also serves the not-so-subtle function of teaching computer mastery as an additional important world language. Computer mastery, once gained, will enable its users to move further, perhaps to create cultural products directly for the medium of instruction they use, and also to become confident of using computers as tools that will allow the creation of sophisticated and ambitious enterprises. By being forced, through the circumstance of linguistic minority status, to reach for such tools now may in fact give linguistic minority communities an advantage over other homogeneous communities, through making many of its members early adopters of the new tools of the age.

As well, it is often too easy to underestimate the value of the export of cultural services of writers, artists, comedians, musicians, etc. With the increasing importance of leisure industries in Canada, such supply of cultural services will make a growing contribution to the Gross Domestic Output of Canada.

Acadians, as a minority, have always had to innovate to be able to do more with fewer resources. They have strived to form partnerships with other Francophone nations, and have contributed to Canada's international relations. The drive to survive and succeed manifests itself in the increasing ability of young Acadians to compete locally, regionally, nationally and internationally. Witness the resurgence of entrepreneurship in the Moncton area by the Acadians. On a smaller scale, the same is true in Évangéline.

The vitality of the linguistic minority community in Tignish

Approximately 63 kilometres to the northwest of Wellington, the heart of Évangéline country, is the municipality of Tignish, and within 15 kilometres of Tignish are the communities of Palmer Road and St. Louis. This, too, is Acadian country. Unlike Évangéline, the Francophones in the Tignish area of Prince do not have their own schools. Although there are support organizations, the Acadians in this region are much more assimilated, and many no longer speak French.

The agencies responsible for economic development in this area are the West Prince Community Futures, West Prince Ventures, West Prince Industrial Commission, and West Prince Inter-Agency. Federal agencies like ACOA and FBDB also serve the area. The Industrial Commission is developing a West Prince tourist guide publication. The Commission also established a programme called Tignish Initiatives to attempt to create additional economic activities in the municipality. One of its projects is to convert an old convent into a bed and breakfast, which will be known as the Tignish Heritage Inn. The building is near the old railway lines, which have been converted to recreational trails, and so will attract tourists who use

the trails both in winter and summer. As well, Tignish Initiatives, in partnership with Holland College, provides training programs under the TAGS (fishery adjustment) program. The West Prince Industrial Commission started a fun park in the Mill River Resort, and it has established an incubator mall in the area. There is also the *Comité touristique acadien de Tignish*, which was established in 1995, which promotes the area, as does the Co-Op Council. Although each is active in its own way, none of these agencies has a strategic or comprehensive development plan for the area.

The economy of the community is based on farming and fishing. The main species caught are lobster, crab, mackerel, and herring. There is a high dependency on earnings from the fishery and from transfer payments. Employment opportunities associated with potato growing have been reduced since McCain Foods and Cavendish Farms now do their own grading of potatoes.

One strength of the community is the cooperative movement. There are many co-operatives in the area, including a blueberry producers' co-operative, a health centre, a fishers' producer co-operative, a resident home co-operative for the disadvantaged, a social club co-operative called Ti-PA (Tignish-Palmer Road Social Club), a consumer co-operative, feed mill, saw mill, and a credit union. The Tignish Credit Union has 9,000 members (5,000 of them active), with assets of $29 million.[81]

The community of Tignish, like the Palmer Road community, is quite united. Religion is an important unifying force, as the vast majority of the people are Roman Catholic. Language is not as unifying a force as it is in Evangeline. In Tignish, where approximately half the population is of French heritage, the proportion of the population that has retained its mother tongue is much smaller. The Parish of Palmer Road is considered a French community, yet it is estimated that only about 10 % of the population speaks French.

There are many volunteers in the Tignish-Palmer Road area. Like the elected officials in Tignish, volunteers work for the welfare of the whole community and do not distinguish between the French and English sub-communities. The Francophone sub-community is seldom promoted. Sometimes, under the guise of special events like the commemoration of the disembarkment of the Acadians, the Acadian culture becomes part of the celebrations. Otherwise, volunteer groups for the Tignish community are English-orientated. The municipal leaders in Tignish are planning the bicentennial celebrations for 1997, and although there will be some Acadian cultural events, it is not expected that the 1997 celebrations will have an Acadian focus.

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[81] Based on an interview with Mr. Victor Doucet, Assistant Manager at the Tignish Credit Union, Tignish, March 1995.

There is a Community Service Centre in Tignish. This building was built with funding from ACOA, the Province, and the Town of Tignish. It houses several agencies which provide services to Tignish and surrounding areas, such as the offices of the municipality of Tignish, the RCMP, and the offices of the agent for provincial government services. Not only does this building provide one-stop shopping for many services, the agency for provincial government services also ensures that people can be served equally in French and in English. In the nearby Parish of Palmer Road, there is a regional office of the *Société Saint Thomas d'Aquin*. The Society tries to preserve the French language and culture. Among its activities, the Society publishes a bilingual newsletter for the Tignish region. Because the Francophones are more assimilated here, the Society strives for bilingual institutions, such as the newsletter, the kindergarten, and the senior citizens' club, which exist in Tignish. As well, many parents are encouraged to enter their children in the French immersion programmes in the Tignish and area schools. The *Centre culturel* received approximately $20,000 a year from the Department of Canadian Heritage and now receives about $9,000 a year.[82] The Department of Canadian Heritage does pay the salary for the regional director of the *Société Saint-Thomas d'Aquin*.

How then does the Francophone community in the Tignish-Palmer Road area participate in local development initiatives? Like Evangeline, the Tignish-Palmer Road area is part of Prince County, an economically depressed region by national standards. There are few opportunities for economic development, and employment in the traditional sectors of fishing and farming are on the decline. Although we have mentioned several agencies which promote the area, none of them is implementing a comprehensive development plan, either at the municipal or regional levels. Unlike the people of the thirteen communities in Évangéline, who identify more with Évangéline as a single region to develop for the benefit of Acadians, the Francophones in the Tignish-Palmer Road area do not consider their area as a single region to develop. The Francophones here will participate with the English in each of the municipalities to effect whatever development efforts there are for the local community as a whole. Businesspeople have remarked that linguistic minority communities are very supportive of local businesses.

How then does the Francophone community in the Tignish-Palmer Road area contribute to the Island's economy and to the Canadian economy? Like the Evangeline area, it draws many tourists from Quebec, New Brunswick, and Louisiana because of the region's Acadian heritage. Some of them, especially those from Massachusetts, are seeking their roots. *Tours d'Acadie* arranges for many of them to come to this area. There are an estimated 2,000-3,000 visitors from Louisiana alone. *Tours d'Acadie* is in the process of trying to attract winter tourism

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[82] Funding information was obtained from an interview with Mrs. Claudette Leclerc, the agent for provincial government services in Tignish, Tignish, March 1995.

from Europe, especially from Belgium, on the *Passeport Blanc* plan. Special events such as *Étoile de Marie*, the Acadian week of April 1 (*Semaine de la Francophonie)*, French theatre in July and August, and the Palmer Road picnic in August draw many visitors to the area. Then there are special institutions which draw tourists to this area, such as the French Dinner Theatre and the Henri Gaudet Museum, where many wish to trace their genealogy. As well, there are many musicians, artists, and performers who contribute to the regional, provincial, and national economies. The many students going through French immersion programmes in the schools will also contribute to the pool of bilingual workers in Canada.

The Anglophone minority in the Gaspé Peninsula

There are approximately 9,400 Anglophones living in the Gaspé Peninsula. [83] The 1991 Census indicates that 7,340 persons whose mother tongue is English live on the south coast of the Peninsula. Many live in so-called English communities, such as Grande-Cascapédia, Saint Jules, New Richmond, New Carlisle, Shigawake, Port Daniel, and the Town of Gaspé with its surrounding communities. Anglophones are not always the majority in these communities, but because sizeable portions of these communities are English-speaking, and for historical reasons, they are known as English communities.

The English in the Gaspé Peninsula are a minority within a minority. According to the 1991 Census, the proportion of the Quebec population whose mother tongue is English is 8.7 percent. Most of these 601, 406 people live in the Montreal area, with some concentration in the Eastern Townships. Approximately one percent of the Quebec English-speaking population lives in the Gaspé, scattered over a large geographical area. This fact is also reflected in the public service where provincial employees whose mother tongue is English constitute 0.8 percent of the total civil service complement, and federally the proportion is 5.6 percent.

The Department of Canadian Heritage provides funding for the preservation of the English language and culture in Quebec, and channels such funds for the Gaspé region through CASA (Committee for Anglophone Social Action in the Gaspé) which has the following main objectives:

- to promote the culture of the English-speaking population of the Gaspé Peninsula;
- to protect the interests and rights of the English-speaking population of the Gaspé;

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[83] From an interview with Mr. Lynden Bechervaise, President of CASA, February 1995.

- to stimulate involvement of Anglophones in the political and social life of the area;

- to encourage greater communication and understanding among the English communities of the Gaspé Coast, and between the Anglophone population and other ethnic populations in the area.[84]

CASA has not taken on the mandate of encouraging economic development in the Gaspé or in local communities.

How do the English in the Gaspé participate in local development initiatives? The English have made and continue to make a significant contribution to the welfare of their local communities and to the region as a whole. This will be discussed shortly. However, the 9,000-strong Anglophones do not act in concert to promote the economic development of the minority Anglophone community or of the region as a whole. English Gaspesians will work diligently in their own communities where there are development efforts.

The Gaspé Peninsula is also a depressed region economically by national standards. Its economy is more like that of the Maritime Provinces, and especially through the fishing sector, has strong economic and social ties to the Maritimes. More detailed statistical profiles of the Anglophone communities in the Gaspé Peninsula follow which give an indication of the economic vitality of the linguistic minority community .

Although it displays similarities with the Francophone community of Prince, the Anglophone minority of the Gaspé is distinctive in several ways. This minority group is less homogeneous than the first one because it is more dispersed over the territory and lacks genuine cohesiveness as a community. We thus derive a subtler profile that reflects situations varying from one community to another.

No fewer than 11,000 persons with English as their mother tongue (including multiple answers) are counted in the Gaspé Peninsula overall.[85] Taking only the three southern counties of the Gaspé, where the main concentrations are found, some 7,300 individuals reported English as their only mother tongue.

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[84] CASA. *Annual Report 1993-1994*. New Carlisle, Quebec. p. 2.

[85] For the purposes of this study, we assume that the western boundary of the Gaspé lines up with the Matapedia Valley.

Table 5-Main Anglophone Communities of the South Gaspé, 1991

Community/Region	Number of Anglophones	Regional Percentage	Incidence of Anglophones
Bonaventure County	**2,960**	**40.3**	**14.9**
New Carlisle*	935	12.7	59.6
New Richmond	705	9.6	17.6
Shigawake*	240	3.3	55.8
Grande-Cascapédia*	215	2.9	79.6
Saint-Jules*	210	2.9	56.8
Hope Town*	200	2.7	53.3
Côte-de-Gaspé County	**2,645**	**36.0**	**12.8**
Town of Gaspé	2,395	32.6	14.9
Pabok County	**1,735**	**23.6**	**9.0**
Percé	800	10.9	19.9
Port Daniel	390	5.3	21.6
Gaspé (south coast)	**7,340**	**100.0**	**9.4**

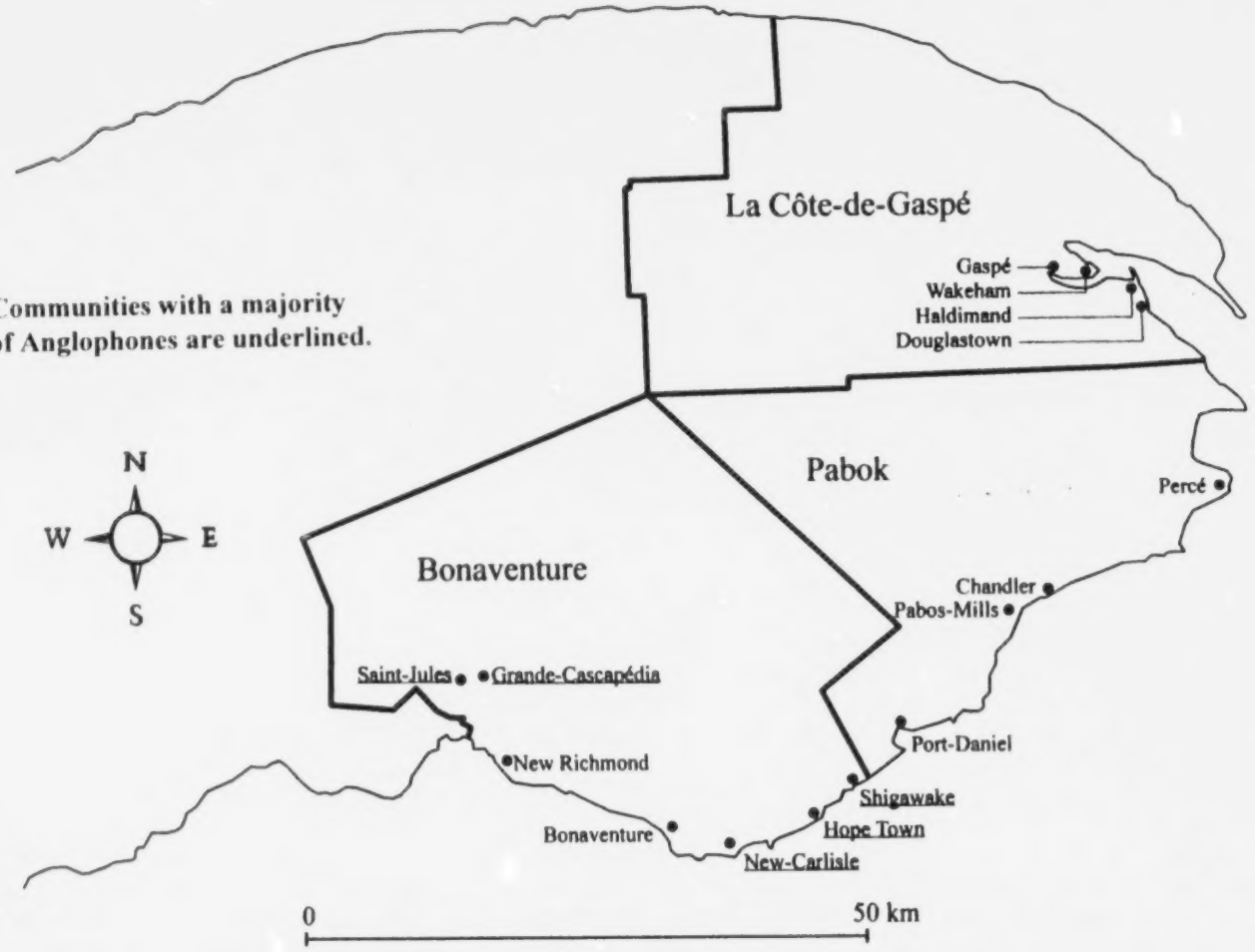
Source: 1991 Canada Census, authors' own compilation.
* Majority Anglophone communities.

The Anglophone minority represents 12% of this region's population, as compared with 8.7% province-wide. Bonaventure County is where Anglophones are most numerous. Here, too, are the only majority-Anglophone communities: New Carlisle, Shigawake, Grande-Cascapédia, Saint Jules and Hope Town. Significant though minority contingents are found in the Town of Gaspé, Percé, New Richmond, Port Daniel, Chandler, Bonaventure, and Pabos Mills.

In the Gaspé as on Prince Edward Island, appreciable socioeconomic discrepancies are noted between the two linguistic communities. First, in demographic terms, the Anglophone minority of the Gaspé is gradually losing ground, although the impact of this loss has softened to the degree that the entire Gaspé is experiencing a serious population decline. From 1986 to 1991 alone, for example, the total population of the three counties of the southern Gaspé fell by almost 5,000 for a relative loss of 7%. Anglophone numbers fell by a little over 7% over the same period in the five communities where they form the majority. The population of Shigawake apparently dropped by around 22% during the 1980s. The communities of New Carlisle and Saint Jules also saw their numbers sink by 10% during the same period. This trend is contrary to what we see at the provincial (7%) and national (12%) levels. Further, the second half of the 1980s saw acceleration in the decline already under way.

These downward population trends impact on the demographic structure, and this has highly significant repercussions on socioeconomic vitality. The Demographic Dependency Ratio (DDR) for all three counties being studied is comparable to the national average (47% as against 48% for all Canada). However, the regional Anglophone minority is dealing with a ratio of 57%. The threshold is especially high in the counties of Pabok (65%) and Côte-de-Gaspé (60%). By contrast to what we see on Prince Edward Island, the imbalance is not so much a matter of young people, but of the adult groups. The percentage of under-25s is 33% among the Anglophones as compared with 35% among Francophones, an insignificant discrepancy. This gap widens, however, near the top of the pyramid: the group aged 35 and over represents 54% of Anglophones, as compared with only 48% in the Francophone majority. Nearly 17% of the Gaspé's Anglophones are aged 65 and over, as compared with 11% of the Francophones, which is the equivalent of the national average.

Gaspé (south coast), Quebec
Census divisions and
Anglophone communities



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Carte éditée par Patrick Dignard
Département de Géographie / Histoire
Université de Moncton, 1995

Table 6-Demographic Structure of Anglophones and Francophones in the Gaspe, 1991

	Youth < 25	Average age (25-34)	35 and +	DDR
Anglophones	33.2	13.1	53.5	56.7
Francophones	35.0	16.5	48.5	45.9
Quebec	33.8	18.1	48.0	44.1
Canada	35.0	17.8	47.2	48.1

Source: 1991 Canada Census, authors' own compilation.

The Gaspé's Anglophone minority has less access to the job market than the linguistic majority. Frankly, the regional job market in the Gaspé is less than dynamic: it suffers from lethargy. An obvious sign of the region's marginalization is that its population fell by 6,500 between 1986 and 1991, a 6% drop, when Quebec as a whole saw a population increase of 5.6%. It becomes harder for the minority element to make its full contribution in a peripheral region losing momentum. In the three Gaspé counties being studied here, the participation rate averages 57% as compared with 65% province-wide. The region's Anglophones have a much lower participation rate (45%) than the Francophones (59%). In Pabok County, with a very significant adult population, the participation rate is the lowest in the region and, the discrepancies between minority and majority are the greatest: 57% for Francophones, compared to barely 40% for Anglophones. This low participation is coupled with the chronic unemployment that affects both linguistic communities. For the three counties being studied, unemployment reached an average of nearly 30% for the year 1991. This is two and a half times the Quebec average. There are significant differences among the three counties and even more between the two linguistic communities. Pabok County seems to be in the worst shape in this respect, and its Anglophone minority is further affected by an unemployment rate of about 50%. In contrast, the predominantly Anglophone communities have relatively strong labour-market participation at around 54%, including Grande-Cascapédia with 65% participation. The Anglophones of New Carlisle, Hope Town, Saint Jules and Shigawake show generally lower participation than their counterparts from Côte-de-Gaspé. A second information source, the tax records, effectively demonstrates that the level of employment in the Anglophone communities of New Carlisle and Shigawake is decidedly below the provincial average, whereas the rate in Grande-Cascapédia is comparable to the level for Quebec overall. The same data show a high rate of entitlement for unemployment insurance in the three majority-Anglophone communities. The percentage of people reporting employment income who actually collected unemployment benefits is 67% and 62% respectively for the postal regions of Shigawake and Grande-Cascapédia. This percentage is lower for New Carlisle. At the same time, the

economic dependency index (unemployment insurance income / employment income) is 18%, 33% and 49% respectively for New Carlisle, Grande-Cascapédia and Shigawake. When compared with the Quebec average (6.5%), this index reveals extreme dependency.

Table 7-Employment and Unemployment Situation, 1992. Population aged 15 and over: Anglophone and Francophone

Region	Employment rate[1]	Unemployment level[2]	Unemployment ins. dependency ration[3]
Canada	51.9	24.1	5.0
Quebec	50.7	29.6	6.5
Postal areas within Bonaventure County			
Bonaventure	35.8	49.3	20.0
Grande-Cascapédia	**47.3**	**61.5**	**33.5**
New Richmond	50.0	44.1	14.5
New Carlisle	**35.4**	**46.8**	**18.5**
Shigawake	**30.0**	**66.7**	**49.0**

Source: Statistics Canada, Small Area and Administrative Data Division, authors' own compilation.

N.B. Majority-Anglophone communities (postal districts) are identified in bold.

[1] Number of persons declaring employment and/or unemployment-insurance income as a percentage of the total population.

[2] Persons having collected unemployment benefits as a percentage of persons having had employment income.

[3] Unemployment benefits as a percentage of employment income.

This relative dependency stems chiefly from the structure of the region's economic activity. In the Gaspé, resources dominate the economic landscape and generate more than 26% of jobs. This percentage is about 21% for Quebec and Canada generally. We wish to point out that this percentage of resource-oriented jobs is similar from one linguistic group to the other. However, there are notable differences at certain levels. For example, 14% of the Anglophone labour force is concentrated in primary activities, mainly forestry and fisheries. Among the Francophones, barely 10% find employment in these areas. On the other hand, the percentage of the Francophone workforce in the manufacturing sector is 17%, as compared with 12% for Anglophones. Here is an initial sign of structural weakness for the Anglophone minority, as manufacturing jobs are generally of higher quality than primary jobs.

A second group of activities, traditional services, also reveals structural weakness in the Anglophone minority. Nearly 35% of their labour force is in this sector, which is fairly high as compared with the provincial and national averages of under 30%. Among the Francophones of the Gaspé, this percentage is no greater than 28%. Traditional services are essentially in trade and retail, accommodation and food services and personal services. These are secondary services, meaning that they are more dependent on than contributory to growth in the economy. Productivity in these sectors is generally low and wages far below average. They contain much *atypical* employment: non-standard, free-lance, part-time or for limited periods. Having a high percentage of the workforce in these sectors is not an indicator of economic vitality for any group.

Table 8-Labour Force Distribution by Industrial Sector in Gaspé (South Coast), 1991

	Gaspe south coast			Quebec	Canada
Industrial Sector	**Total**	**Anglo.**	**Franco**	**Total**	**Total**
Resource Sector[1]	26.3	26.1	26.4	21.7	20.6
Traditional Services[2]	28.8	34.8	28.1	29.7	29.7
Financial Services[3]	4.9	4.0	5.0	11.0	11.5
Public Sector[4]	27.8	21.2	28.5	24.1	24.0

Source: 1991 Canada Census, authors' own compilation.
[1]Primary activities (agriculture, fisheries, forestry and mines) and manufacturing.
[2]Wholesale and retail, accommodation and restaurants and personal services.
[3]Business services and the financial and insurance sector.
[4]Government services, education and health.

One sector that is rapidly being transformed in organization and technology is financial services. This high-productivity, high-paying field has taken on increased importance in the Canadian economy generally. The percentage of jobs involved fluctuates around 12% in Canada overall, with Quebec close behind. Here is a branch of the information economy that tends to coalesce in big cities. Increasingly, however, we find this type of employment in the regions. This is made possible now by the spectacular development of new information technologies and the regional establishment of telecommunications infrastructures. Barely 5% of the Gaspé labour force is in financial services, with the majority somewhat advantaged (5%) over the Anglophone minority (4%). However, Anglophones could do more to capitalize on the changes occurring in this industry, since the financial sectors are largely tied into international networks where the language of business and trade is English. It will also be seen that the Anglophone minority has an appreciable level of education, especially at the university level.

The final sector reserved for attention here is that of public services. These are driver activities in peripheral regions like the Gaspé to the degree that their employment and the incomes they generate substantially exceed the regional tax bite. These jobs are generally of superior quality and require a professional workforce. Continuity of work is virtually unaffected by seasonal cycles as it is in many other sectors. As we know, financial problems in the federal and provincial governments are forcing rationalization in these sectors, and especially in the health and education fields. Yet their relative importance in the regions remains very strong. They occupy 28% of the workforce in the three Gaspé counties being studied here, as compared with 24% provincially and nationally. The Anglophone minority of Gaspé is much less represented, though, with only 21% of its workforce employed in public services (the figure for Francophones is 28.5%). The imbalances are noticeable in government services as well as in health and social services. The situation is reversed in education, where we find a higher percentage of Anglophone workers (9.2%) than from the Francophone majority (8.6%).

In short, goods-producing industries are much more important in Pabok County. Fishery activities account for this resource-sector dominance. This sector also employs more Anglophones and Francophones in Bonaventure County. The Anglophone minority is relatively less present in these fields in the Town of Gaspe area where its members seem to be channelled more into the public sector.

In the five predominantly Anglophone communities, employment structure differs greatly from place to place. The percentage of jobs in the goods-producing industries varies from 33% of the national average in Saint Jules to about 160% in the communities of Hope Town and Shigawake. The public sector is proportionately more present in the communities of New Carlisle and Hope Town. Public employment is something of a rarity in Saint Jules and Shigawake.

The regional distribution of public employment reveals the structural imbalance affecting the Gaspé Anglophone community. In the three counties of this study, the Francophone majority has a percentage of its workforce in the public sector that is much higher than the national average, as high as 38% more among the Francophones of Côte-de-Gaspé. The Anglophone minority is largely below the national average except in the Town of Gaspé area. And even in this district, the percentage of the Anglophone workforce in the public sector cannot be compared with what we find among the Francophones. This situation is expressed in occupational structures that vary widely from district to district and from one linguistic group to the other. The Anglophones of the Gaspé south coast have 42.5% of their workforce in sectors where annual incomes are above average. Some 43.6% of the region's Francophone workers hold positions in these high-paying sectors. By contrast to what had been noted in the Acadian minority of Prince Edward Island, the discrepancies here are insignificant.

Table 9-Percentages of the Gaspé Labour Force in High-paying Sectors, 1991

Occupation	Average annual salary in 1991	Percentage of workforce Anglo.	Franco.	Incomes of Anglo./Franco.
Education	$31,809	6.7%	6.0%	1.07
Health	32,226	3.3	6.5	0.89
Management/Admin.	28,670	7.5	7.8	0.94
Mfg. and Assembly	24,912	4.2	6.1	1.31
Technical	22,671	5.8	6.1	0.91
Transportation	22,404	7.9	3.9	0.93
Construction	21,897	7.1	7.2	0.96
Total - Occ. > Avg.		42.5	43.6	

Source: 1991 Canada Census, authors' own compilation.

Anglophone parity is sustained by two sectors, transportation and education. They employ 14.6% of the workers from the Anglophone side, as compared with 9.9% of Francophone workers. The field of education is even more important to the Anglophone minority inasmuch as average incomes are higher than we find among Francophones. Of the seven high-paying sectors, the Anglophones maintain their salary edge only in education and manufacturing. All in all, the occupational structure of the Gaspé Anglophones is not as unfavourable as was found among the Acadians of Prince County on Prince Edward Island. It is true that income structure is a disparity factor for Gaspé Anglophones. Yet discrepancies remain small in comparison with the ones noted on Prince Edward Island. The explanation for this is partly that the Anglophone minority contains a large percentage of university graduates. Paradoxically, the percentage of Anglophone workers with only high-school diplomas is very high: 42%. This proportion is only 25% for Quebec Anglophones overall and 35% for the Gaspé Francophone majority. The Anglophone minority has no cause to be envious of the majority when it comes to university education, since it has a higher percentage of this category in its ranks than was found among the Francophones. However, we are far from the provincial and national averages. We are also far from the threshold noted in Quebec's Anglophone minority generally. Among the adult population (in and out of the labour force), discrepancies are more striking in some cases and more subtle in others. In general, non-working Francophones are much less educated than inactive Anglophones. The latter could thus use this advantage to tackle the labour market on a broader front. We also note a much higher percentage of university graduates in the Anglophone minority of the Gaspé: 13% of the adult Anglophone population has a university background, as compared with only 7% of the linguistic majority.

Anglophones are best educated in the Town of Gaspé district and least educated in Pabok County. This situation closely corresponds to their occupational structure.

At the community level, the situation varies appreciably from one majority-Anglophone community to another. In Hope Town and Saint Jules, some 70% of the adult population have not finished high school, a much higher figure than anywhere else. Grande-Cascapédia and New Carlisle have especially educated adult populations, more than one-third of them with post-secondary and university experience. These linguistic and regional differences have direct impacts on community income levels.

The average wage per worker on the Gaspé south coast is the same for Anglophones and Francophones: in 1991, it stood at 76% of the national average. This is lower than the provincial average, however, which stands at 94% of the Canadian figure. Average employment income for Anglophones is higher than for the Francophone majority in five job categories out of thirteen. These categories are, in order of importance, processing, office work, manufacturing/assembly, teaching, and "other" unclassified occupations. If we exclude this last group, the above occupations absorb about 30% of the Anglophone workforce, as compared with 35% of Francophone workers. We note great differences among the various Gaspé communities in terms of income. Of the fifteen postal regions covering our survey territory, only six show average total incomes exceeding 70% of the Canadian average. Its mining industry makes the Murdochville district the only one to show total average incomes greater than the national average. Work-generated income is especially low in the Percé, Port Daniel, Shigawake, Newport and Grande-Cascapédia districts, where significant groups of Anglophones reside. In general, then, we may say that the Anglophones of the Gaspé are found in communities with relatively low average annual incomes, and this explains their relative dependency on transfer payments. The majority-Anglophone communities of Grande-Cascapédia, Shigawake and New Carlisle are all excessively dependent on unemployment-insurance income. These revenues correspond to 19% of employment income in the best case and as much as 49% in the worst case, whereas the Quebec average is 6.5%.

To conclude this profile, let us say that the socioeconomic disparities among the Gaspé communities are more striking between districts than between linguistic groups. This is clearly seen in income levels and transfer dependency. However, the rate of participation in the economy by the Anglophone minority leaves something to be desired. This applies especially to the women, whose rate of participation (33%) is distinctly below the threshold noted in the Acadian women of Prince County on Prince Edward Island, 50% of whom are working. Anglophones should also become more active in the public fields where they are under-represented. Finally, it would be advantageous for the Anglophone minority of the Gaspe to recapture the entrepreneurial spirit that was so characteristic of their

forebears. To succeed in this, however, more cohesion will have to be built up among the various Anglophone groups and communities. The majority will also have to accept the Anglophone presence, not merely as a tourist attraction, but as a partner important to the economic recovery of the whole Gaspé region.

The vitality of the linguistic minority community in the Gaspé Peninsula

What institutions are in place for local and regional development? There are municipal institutions, such as the *Comité de développement de New Carlisle*, which undertake projects such as building a bird sanctuary to attract tourists, but do not engage in comprehensive planning. In New Carlisle, English-speaking people work with the French majority for the promotion of the community. In New Richmond, there is *La Commission du développement économique - Ville de New Richmond*, which has an annual budget of $85,000.[86] Although this commission tries to attract new business to the town and oversee some sectoral committees, such as forestry and fishing, they do not plan comprehensively for the municipality. The Anglophones tend not to take an active role in the Commission's direction because they see it as a creation of the municipal government, which operates in the French language. In smaller communities, the efforts are more modest, but the situation is similar, for example, there is no overall planning of the economic future of the communities. Nevertheless, whatever local development efforts there are, English Gaspesians tend to co-operate with the French-speaking majority.

There are many government departments and agencies that have responsibility for regional development. At the provincial level, there is the *Commission régionale de concertation et de développement (CRCD) de la Gaspésie et des Îles-de-la-Madeleine* that has drawn up a strategic development plan for the 1993-1998 period. This council of mayors has set some overall objectives and some specific ones in various sectors, and operates on an annual budget of $4 million. Most of the English-speaking people we interviewed were not aware of its plans, and only a few were even aware of its existence. Unless someone was an elected municipal official, he or she would not be aware of the CRCD's plans and activities. The ordinary citizen was not involved in the formulation or approval of the plan. Any publicity calling for input was done in the French media but not in the English media. This lack of publicity in English effectively disenfranchised any Anglophone wishing to participate in the development process. The same has been said of the MRCs, the Municipal Regional Councils. Some unilingual English-speaking elected officials cannot partake fully in these forums because deliberations and minutes of meetings are in the French language. Requests for bilingual minutes have been refused. Some English-speaking entrepreneurs were

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[86] From an interview with Mr. Jean-Marie Jobin, Mayor of New Richmond, February 1995.

aware of the *Ministère des Sciences et de la Technologie du Québec* because they had taken advantage of the grants and loans offered by this government department.

At the federal level there is the *Bureau fédéral de développement régional*, with an office in distant Rimouski. The Federal Business Development Bank also has an office in Rimouski that is responsible for the Peninsula. The *Société d'aménagement et de développement communautaire* (SADC), also known as Community Futures, is in danger of abolition. Beyond their awareness of the federal Business Development Bank, those interviewed did not know of the existence of these agencies, let alone participate in any of the agencies' activities.

These institutions, whether at the federal, provincial, or municipal levels, are typically not sensitive to the English minority and its needs. We asked whether English-speaking Gaspesians were treated better by the federal agencies than by provincial ones, and we were told that in some instances the federal agencies are less sensitive to the needs of the Anglophones than their provincial counterparts. Such perceptions of the treatment by public servants act as a disincentive to potential entrepreneurs in trying new ventures or expanding their operations.

How then do English-speaking Gaspesians contribute to the Peninsula's economy and to the Canadian economy? In Grand Cascapédia there is *La Société de la gestion pour la rivière Grande-Cascapédia*, an equal partnership between the predominantly local English community and the Micmacs on the Gesgapegiag reserve (formerly known as the Mira reserve), which manages the salmon river that has traditionally attracted American and other English-speaking tourists. Anglophones have traditionally been good managers of the salmon rivers in the Gaspé peninsula. The partnership which exists through *La Société* is a model of co-operation between two minority groups.

In nearby New Richmond, a community of 4,200 people, 18 percent of whom are English, there is the Gaspesian British Heritage Centre which traces the Loyalist era from 1760 to the early 1900s. Started in 1988, the Loyalist village now has twenty buildings, and employs thirty seasonal workers on a part-time basis, one full-time person, and four people on a full-time basis from May to September. In 1994, there were 15,000 visitors to the Centre, 13,000 of whom paid. The Anglophones throughout the Gaspé make a big contribution to tourism because they attract English-speaking tourists who would not otherwise come to the region. Other communities have heritage museums, such as the Hamilton museum in New Carlisle.

Also in New Richmond, the English established the New Richmond Fairgrounds where cattle are auctioned and the price is set before the cattle leave the area. Previously, the price was determined at the destination point, at which time the stock had experienced weight loss and there may have been adverse price

movements in the market. This innovation of the New Richmond auction has contributed to an improvement in productivity in the agriculture sector of the region's economy. The initiation of the artificial insemination programme has done so as well. Many English-speaking Gaspesians are important producers in agriculture. Farms have been handed down from generation to generation, and are well managed. There are large beef producers, dairy farms, and horse-breeders.

Historically, English-speaking Gaspesians have been entrepreneurs in the region. For example, Robin Jones & Whitman Limited is spoken of as the second-oldest company in Canada, next to the Hudson's Bay Company. English-speaking Gaspesians played an important role in the forestry and fishery sectors of the Peninsula. Today, Anglophones continue to contribute successfully as farmers, fishers, and as tourist operators. More importantly, English-speaking entrepreneurs are at the forefront of new technology and innovation. One dairy farm operator is researching and developing an organic compost made of peat moss, fish waste, and farm waste. Some production has been exported to Japan. A fishers' union official told us that it is the English-speaking fishers who are more likely to adopt new technology. Fishers travel long distances to catch fish, and because English-speaking fishers can more easily communicate while they are in ports outside the Gaspé, they become acquainted with new ways and new technology. And because many of these fishers are also bilingual, they are able to pass their new knowledge on to unilingual French-speaking fishers in the Gaspé. So it is in agriculture and other sectors. It would seem that English-speaking Gaspesians act as an important bridge socially and economically between the Francophones in Quebec and the rest of Canada, and the world.

There are many English-speaking people who are self-employed in the region. Some operate businesses that have been successfully operated by families for generations. We have spoken of these. Then there are those who start their own businesses because they find it difficult to find employment owing to local employers' preference for Francophones. We have been told that it is more difficult for an Anglophone, even if she or he is bilingual, to find work than a Francophone who is bilingual, or even in some instances, than a unilingual Francophone. The language laws of Quebec place strong pressure on employers to hire Francophones, and in a depressed economic region where jobs are scarce, it is often stated that employers actively discriminate in favour of majority Francophones to appear to be good Quebec corporate citizens. Also, some Anglophones, who had left the region, began to see opportunities for starting their own businesses in the Gaspé, and have since returned to do so. One such entrepreneur became aware that no one in the region was supplying bottled oxygen to hospitals and industry, and started a business of supplying and refilling oxygen tanks.

In addition to the many Anglophones who are teachers and professionals, there are many volunteers among the English-speaking Gaspesians. They make things

happen that governments sometimes cannot. One example is in the Town of Gaspe where a recently-arrived United Church minister saw a dwindling economic base in fishing and forestry and decided to help her parishioners and townspeople find alternate employment. Where less than 10 percent of the land in the area was under active cultivation, and had lain fallow for decades, she saw a wonderful opportunity for the community to engage in organic farming, since the land qualified as pesticide-free for a minimum of fifteen years. She helped the people organize a nonprofit company to begin what is expected to become a large-scale commercial enterprise. By organizing initially as a nonprofit corporation, the group becomes eligible for funding from Human Resources Development Canada (HRDC) and private foundations. However, the voting rights in the corporation are based on the co-operative movement's one-member-one-vote principle. Both Anglophones and Francophones of various religious denominations participate. The plan is in place, the work begun, and the process is phased, so that initial successes will lead to further successes.

Conclusions

What have we learned from the experiences of the English minority in the Gaspé and the French minority in Prince County of Prince Edward Island? First, we quickly discovered that the Évangéline region is very different from the Tignish-Palmer Road area and the Gaspé. As we have mentioned, Evangeline is a French enclave, and in that region Francophones are in the majority. They have their own schools, and the working language in the communities is French. In the Tignish-Palmer road area, the Acadians do not have a French school to which they can send their children. The working language is English, and many people of Acadian or French heritage are no longer able to speak French, or can do so only minimally. The situation of so-called English communities in the Gaspé is more like the Tignish region than the Évangéline region. English-speaking Gaspesians are not in the majority within their communities, except for some very small communities. In some communities like New Carlisle, there are English-run schools. But unlike Prince Edward Island, which has become quite sensitive to the needs of the Francophones as a minority, Quebec has passed language legislation which discourages the use of the English language, and the language policy is designed to force English-speaking people to assimilate. Consequently, much time and effort in the Gaspé are spent preserving the rights of the English, and in contrast

to the Évangéline area, little time has been spent in promoting economic development in a concerted way by English Gaspesians. [87]

There are differences in the support these communities receive from both the federal and provincial governments.[88] The Francophone community in Prince Edward Island receives support not only from the Department of Canadian Heritage, but also from the provincial government through a federal-provincial co-operation agreement to promote the French language in P.E.I. Obtaining a direct comparison of funding to the Francophones in Prince County, P.E.I. and to the Anglophones in the Gaspé Peninsula is difficult. Funding data from the Department of Canadian Heritage to Francophones in P.E.I. are aggregated with those of New Brunswick, and the funding to the Gaspé is aggregated with the rest of Quebec. Also, in P.E.I. there is some funding from the provincial government, which is not the case in Quebec. Then, there is the added difficulty of taking into account the differences in scale economies in serving constituencies of different sizes and population densities. However, as an indicator of the differences in funding, the *Société Saint-Thomas d'Aquin*, which tries to preserve the French language and culture on P.E.I., received approximately $300,000 in funding in 1994, and CASA, which tries to preserve the English language and culture in the Gaspé Peninsula, received approximately $100,000. According to the 1991 Census, there were 5,415 persons whose mother tongue was French in P.E.I., 4,075 of them in Prince County, and approximately 9,440 persons whose mother tongue was English in the Gaspé, 7,340 of them on the south coast of the Gaspé. Furthermore, unlike the provincial government in Quebec, the P.E.I. government gives a great deal of moral support to its linguistic minority community.

The concentration of Francophones in the Évangéline region and the support various levels of government provide produces a greater commonality of interest for development purposes. People see the advancement of their economy as a way of ensuring the preservation and advancement of their culture. Thus, they actively promote the area and lobby for structures for economic development that will

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[87] To place things in context, we were told repeatedly by respondents that there does not appear to be any great concern about economic development, outside of the tourist sector, by any group in the Gaspé. With the provincial government preoccupied with the sovereignty issue and the ensuing debate on the matter in the region by both linguistic groups, the pursuit of economic development at the regional level seems to have been set aside.

[88] In 1993-1994, the Francophone community in New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island received $10.00 per person from the Department of Canadian Heritage compared to $ 3.30 per person for the English in Quebec. The population base used in the *per capita* amounts is mother tongue from OCUL and the 1991 Census. This information was supplied by CASA in New Carlisle, July 11, 1995.

support the needs of their region. They are used to collaborating through the co-operative movement and form quite a force for potentially developing the region. We mentioned there was no comprehensive plan in place for Évangéline, but this may change as new structures come into play because of federal and provincial reforms in regional development. Ultimately, the chances of large-scale development will be limited by the nature of the P.E.I. economy, the performance of the Canadian economy, and the monies available from the public purse for both heritage spending and development.

Just as Évangéline is more fortunate relative to the other regions in this study, it is also subject to the potential shock of reduction in public spending. The success of the economy of Évangéline is somewhat artificial in its dependence on funding for heritage purposes. There is a concentration of public servants or quasi-public servants dependent on heritage money in the Évangéline region, and this presence partially explains the fact that the average income for this region is above that of Prince County as a whole. Also, there are many educated people who could provide the necessary leadership to formulate and implement development plans. But this strength can become a weakness: if there is a drastic cut in funding, there will be an exodus of well-educated bilingual people, and the economic base of the region will be badly eroded. With a loss of population, funding for French schools could become problematic, and that would be the beginning of the loss of the minority language and culture. Consequently, there would be a loss of communal interest in developing the Évangéline region.

In the Tignish and Gaspé regions, the minority groups are not as concentrated, and tend not to operate on a unified front for development purposes. Community economic development—such as it is—is associated with the local place, and is not tied to language. In the Gaspé, there is less of a tradition of doing things co-operatively, and more of a tradition of "rugged individualism" among English Gaspesians. If the Tignish-Palmer Road and Gaspé regions were to receive funding at a level similar to what is received in Évangéline, there might be greater opportunities for the promotion of local development, including the expansion of infrastructure, such as schools for the minority groups. Minority schools would do much to preserve the language and heritage of the minorities in these regions. As well, the additional presence of minority-language educators, public servants, and public service agencies, would add to the pool of educated and well-trained people among the minorities. Any strengthening of the economic base, such as through the additional presence of public servants, or through the diversification of local exports, creates a raison d'être for people of the linguistic minority group to remain, and that greatly increases the chances of preserving the language and culture.

We have seen how linguistic minority communities can make a contribution to the economy and to economic development. Economic development in turn is an important ingredient in preserving the language and heritage of such communities.

There is a symbiotic relationship here. All levels of government should make greater efforts not only to support activities which tend to preserve the culture in linguistic minority communities, but also to support the economic development of the regions. Without an economic basis for a linguistic minority community to survive, the people within the minority group will eventually move. The dispersion will likely lead to assimilation of the minority people and the loss of heritage and culture. Conversely, by developing linguistic minority communities economically, the heritage and culture of the linguistic minorities will be strengthened.

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Interviews

Interviews with more than 40 persons in various communities on the south coast of Gaspe and in Prince County, Prince Edward Island, including Mr. Armand Arsenault, Directeur du *Centre de services régional Évangéline*, Wellington, P.E.I., March 1995, and Mr. Lynden Bechervaise, President of CASA, New Carlisle, Quebec, February 1995.

The Two Official Languages and the Economy: A Manitoban Perspective

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Introduction

"Central Bilingual. Competitive. Manitoba, The Call Centre Location." That was the gist of an advertisement that appeared on page 1 of the "Report on Telecommunications," a special section of the English-language national newspaper *The Globe and Mail* in March 1995.[89] This is a message that would not have been identified, a few years ago, as coming from Manitoba—especially in English. For, during the 1980s and early 1990s, the merits of Manitoban bilingualism were argued before the courts, from the Manitoba Provincial Court to the Supreme Court of Canada.

The Manitoba advertisement is, however, an interesting point of departure for embarking on a consideration of the official languages and the economy, the topic of this colloquium organized by Official Languages Support Programs and the Strategic Research Directorate in the Corporate and Intergovernmental Affairs Branch of the federal Department of Canadian Heritage. For, by linking bilingualism to economic benefits, the Manitoba advertisement highlights one of the positive aspects of official bilingualism in Manitoba, not only for the Francophone minority but for all Manitobans.

According to the colloquium organizers, "the objective of the exercise is to explore, in the Canadian and global context of the end of the 20th century, the relationship between the two official languages and the economy."[90] The purpose of this paper is somewhat more modest, namely, to examine the Manitoban situation in light of a recent study on economic development in bilingual municipalities in Manitoba[91],

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[89] *The Globe and Mail*, Tuesday, March 21, 1995, p. C1.

[90] Letter of invitation to participants, March 2, 1995. Pierre Gaudet, Director, Policy, Analysis and Promotion, Canadian Heritage, to Jean-Paul Gobeil, Deloitte & Touche, Winnipeg.

[91] Deloitte & Touche, *Réconcilier langue et économie : Étude sur le développement économique dans les municipalités bilingues du Manitoba*, prepared for the Association des municipalités bilingues du Manitoba, Winnipeg, March 1994.

in order to attempt to identify opportunities for mediation and facilitation by the federal government in this area.

Background: bilingualism in Manitoba

As everyone knows, Manitoba joined the other four provinces of Canada as a bilingual province in 1870. Fifteen years later, as a result of massive immigration from Eastern Europe, linguistic duality was no longer a demographic reality. In 1886, French speakers constituted only 10.3% of the province's 108,640 residents.[92] Twenty years after the creation of Manitoba, official bilingualism (legislative assembly and courts) was abolished with the adoption of the provincial *Official Language Act*. In education, religious schools were replaced (1890 to 1896) by public schools where a language of instruction other than English could be used. In 1916, bilingual schools were abolished and public schools were, in theory at least, English schools.

In other words, from the end of the 19th century until the 1980s (and still today) bilingualism in Manitoba has had a negative connotation. For the multi-ethnic majority, bilingualism is a costly irritant that it would like to see disappear. For the Francophone minority, it is a constant struggle focusing on linguistic and cultural survival. In this context which is unfavourable to the normal development of an individual and his local community, it should come as no surprise that the socio-economic portrait of Manitoba's Francophone community today differs substantially from that of the Anglophone community. It would be correct to say that any government intervention in terms of language and the economy must take this difference into account.

Francophone Manitoba: a demographic portrait

To understand the demographics of Manitoba, it should be noted that over half the total population (56.5% in 1991) lives in Winnipeg, the provincial capital. One should also keep in mind that urban growth occurs in large part at the expense of the rural regions, a phenomenon that dates back to the post-war boom.[93] The Manitoban Francophone community is no exception to this demographic reality and is, in fact, essentially urban. In 1991, two thirds of Franco-Manitobans lived in Winnipeg, while one third lived in villages or rural municipalities. Close to 90%

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[92] Census of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories, 1886.

[93] André Fauchon, *La population du Manitoba (Canada)*, Doctoral thesis, University of Paris, December 1987, p. 182-187.

of Francophones live either in Winnipeg or less than an hour from the Manitoba capital.[94]

The bilingual rural communities are, to say the least, small, just as Manitoba, in relation to Canada is small (4% of the population of Canada in 1991). Among communities belonging to the *Association des municipalités bilingues du Manitoba* (AMBM), the largest incorporated village is Sainte-Anne-des-Chênes (pop. 1,477; 59.2% Francophone[95]), located some 40 minutes from Winnipeg. The other incorporated member villages have less than 1,000 inhabitants. As for the rural municipalities, they have larger populations. However, being rural, the population density is lower, except in the unincorporated villages, which have very little local autonomy. And in some cases, the percentage of Francophones is less than 50%.

In Manitoba, erosion of the rural population toward urban centres follows the demographic trend seen Canada-wide.[96] Among the four incorporated villages in the AMBM, only two have had a population increase from 1986 to 1991. The same can be said of bilingual rural municipalities: the farther they are from the provincial capital, the greater the loss of population. Half of the municipalities belonging to the AMBM have had an increase in population from 1986 to 1991; the other half has seen a net loss of population during this period. The absence of local economic growth, and hence of jobs, is the main reason for this depopulation.

French Manitoba: an economic portrait

The tertiary sector clearly dominates Manitoba's economy (see Table 1). The main industries in the service sector are retail trade, transportation, finance and public administration. The secondary sector comprises various manufacturing or processing industries. It includes 1,800 firms employing over 63,000 persons and producing goods worth more than $6 billion annually. As for the primary sector, it includes agriculture, hydroelectricity and natural resources (mining, forestry and fishing).

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[94] Société Franco-Manitobaine, *Manitoba's Francophone community: at the heart of America*, January 1995, p. 7.

[95] 1991 Census.

[96] Deloitte & Touche, p. 10.

Table 1: Economic portrait of Manitoba, by sector[97]

	Percentage of jobs		
Economic Sector	Manitoba (total)	Non-Francophone municipalities outside Winnipeg	Bilingual municipalities outside Winnipeg
Primary	9%	7%	40%
Secondary	19%	20%	0%
Tertiary	72%	73%	60%

While non-Francophone municipalities located outside the metropolitan region reflect, to within a few percentage points, the provincial trends (Table 1, column 3), this is not true of bilingual municipalities in Manitoba (Table 1, column 4). Francophone communities located outside the metropolitan region disproportionately depend on the primary sector, in comparison to the provincial average. In addition, Francophone presence in the primary sector is limited almost exclusively to agricultural operations.

With regard to the tertiary sector, social and health services are going through great expansion in bilingual communities where the population is increasingly an aging one. These services account for approximately 15 to 20% of jobs. Educational services are also significant. Between 20 and 25% of jobs in these communities are in the retail sector. It is essentially made up of businesses that cater to people living in these communities. Little income is generated from sales to clients from outside respective communities.[98]

French Manitoba and economic development

The relationship between languages and the economy existed in French Manitoba well before the adoption of the federal *Official Languages Act* and its related promotional programs. The *caisses populaires* and the co-operative movement have promoted a type of economic development in Franco-Manitoban communities since 1938. The 18 *caisses populaires* with 10 branches and three outlets in 29 Franco-Manitoban communities had, as of December 31, 1993, 35,600 members

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[97] Deloitte & Touche, p. 4, 12, 44.

[98] Deloitte & Touche, p. 11-14.

with total assets of $355.5 million.[99] The Franco-Manitoban co-operative movement also has nine co-operatives belonging to the *Conseil de la coopération du Manitoba*, regrouping 6,000 members and assets of over $16.6 million.

In the 1970s, the *Société franco-manitobaine* (SFM), the provincial organization of Manitoba Francophones, had on its staff at least one economic development officer responsible for encouraging and supporting groups that wished to form investment clubs or launch businesses. Chambers of commerce and business associations have been active to varying degrees, depending on the people involved and the decade in question.

Despite the efforts of all these groups, the need to increase economic development was still considered a priority at the end of the 1980s. In 1989, a *Bureau de développement économique provincial*, funded by grants from Department of the Secretary of State, was set up under the direction of the *Conseil de la coopération du Manitoba*. While the Bureau has set up several exchange visits and identified possible Quebec firms interested in setting up shop in Manitoba, results were rather meagre.[100]

How is it that the *caisses populaires*, founded without assistance and without government programs, are still an economic force today in the Francophone communities of Manitoba, while recent efforts supported by public funds (almost exclusively from the federal government) almost never produce the expected results? That is a question that may clarify one aspect of the relationship between languages and the economy.

In response, it could no doubt be pointed out that the economy was not (and still is not) part of traditional Franco-Manitoban "culture." Community values and the occupational training received did not prepare Francophones to succeed in the business world. In the 1970s, the *Collège universitaire de Saint-Boniface* (CUSB), the only French-language post-secondary institution in Western Canada, developed its faculty of education to meet the needs of training teachers for French-language and French immersion schools. A technical and professional school was established at CUSB in the 1980s. However, it was only in 1995 that CUSB could announce the establishment of a specialized undergraduate program in business administration.

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[99] In Manitoba, the *Caisses Populaires and Credit Unions Act* (1987) confirms the distinct linguistic character of the *caisses populaires*, which is [trans.] "to provide a full range of financial services in French and provide for the direction and democratic control of these services by the French-speaking citizens of Manitoba...." SFM, p.12.

[100] Deloitte & Touche, p. 15.

Compartmentalization of the language

Lack of preparation for the business world does not explain everything. It does not account for the success of the *caisses populaires* in Manitoba and for the fact that the Francophone farmer, mechanic, grocer or real estate agent succeeds as well as his Anglophone counterpart.

The beginnings of an answer lie in the change over time in the perception of the Francophone community and of the language. As noted previously, Francophones in Manitoba quickly became a minority in the late 19th century. However, before the post-war boom and exodus from rural areas, Francophone communities, both in rural areas and in Saint-Boniface (the only really urban Francophone centre in Manitoba), were fairly homogeneous. The *caisses populaires* were therefore locally founded for economic needs and not for linguistic reasons. They operate in French because they were established by Francophones for Francophones, who make up the vast majority of inhabitants in most of the parishes and villages.

With modernization of the province and improvement in transportation and communications networks, these parishes and villages emerged from their isolation and became more and more linguistically mixed. The reorganization of local institutions—principally consolidation of small schools—often brought language quarrels and the survival mentality among Francophones out into the open. It is difficult, if not impossible, to speak of economic development when the legitimacy and existence of essential institutions such as French language schools are being called into question. All the energy, and often all the resources were spent on survival of language and culture; all initiatives were directed to that end.

This had the effect of circumscribing what might be called "Francophone affairs." Community involvement, even the career choice of a true Francophone was restricted to the Francophone sphere (parish, school, cultural activities). Municipal council, chamber of commerce and community associations activities serving the needs of both Francophones and Anglophones were sometimes conducted in French and in English, most often in English only, and therefore became secondary. Within the Francophone leadership, French became an end in itself instead of a means of reaching an end. The federal *Official Languages Act* and programs to assist official language minorities reinforced this frame of mind. This assistance was (and still is) important for the establishment, maintenance and operation of Francophone institutions essential to a quality of life in French. However, as long as it is limited, or gives the impression of being limited to the Francophone sphere, it can only maintain, often artificially, perceptions and realities that must be left behind.

The future: decompartmentalization and opening up

The future of Francophone communities in Manitoba and in Canada depends in large part on the economic future they fashion for themselves. To derive full benefit from the situation, it will be necessary to decompartmentalize (and depoliticize) the language issue, not only in federal and provincial departments and governments, but also within the general population.

The study we carried out for the AMBM has shown that despite the comparative advantages of Manitoba (central geographical location, access to North American markets, efficient telecommunications system, etc.),[101] New Brunswick has had greater success in attracting companies by further capitalizing on its bilingual work force. In New Brunswick, both among Francophones and the non-Francophone majority, there is a strong consensus on the economic benefits of bilingualism, while up until recently in Manitoba, bilingualism was a concern of the Franco-Manitoban minority and in economic terms served mainly as a tourist attraction.

While our analysis has shown that bilingualism in itself is not sufficient to attract businesses and is not a decisive factor in location for all sectors of the economy, the availability of a bilingual work force in Franco-Manitoban communities provides them with a uniqueness and is a distinguishing feature that governments ought to be more aware of and of which they should take more advantage.

The benefits of greater promotion of the "bilingual" fact by governments are obvious:

- it could change many peoples' attitudes to bilingualism were it presented as an important asset rather than an unnecessary expense;
- the joint efforts of Francophone and non-Francophone communities to attract businesses to Manitoba could promote harmony between these communities;
- attracting businesses to bilingual communities would change their economic profile and make them less dependent on the agricultural sector.

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[101] Deloitte & Touche, p. 52-54.

Opportunities for mediation and facilitation by the federal government

Promotion of the economic benefits of bilingualism by governments will not, in itself, be sufficient. Communities and governments must also adopt a new "culture," a new way of seeing and doing things with regard to languages. The Francophone sphere cannot be viewed, both locally and nationally, as isolated from the economic and social realities in which we live. Bilingualism must not be a separate issue; it must be an important and vital element of all issues and programs. Bilingualism must take its rightful place within these programs, whether they be the Western Diversification Fund or development of the electronic highway, and be seen as an economic asset rather than simply wishful thinking. The Department of Canadian Heritage might therefore act as a "broker" for assistance programs, facilitating and providing official language communities with real access to various assistance programs.

This also means that the Department of Canadian Heritage and the official language communities must rethink their ways of doing things. In the past, the federal government has provided the bulk of its assistance to Francophone minorities in the political and cultural areas. While this focus was probably essential during the 1970s and 80s (there was some serious catching-up to do), and while it produced positive results, this type of assistance has serious limitations. It does not provide any economic lever to communities and groups receiving it. It lacks flexibility: projects submitted are designed to meet criteria established by Ottawa rather than real local needs. Is there not a current need to reverse the equation, that is, to invest in Francophone economic development in order to allow the business environment to then reinvest in its artistic and cultural organizations—in other words, enabling the community to reinvest in itself? To this end, the federal government must also move away from what might be called the principle of national conformity, of national criteria imposed on everyone, regardless of local realities.

As we have mentioned before, with only 4 % of Canada's population, Manitoba does not have much influence. Bilingual communities in this province are small. Some people might easily ask: why do anything for so few people? Indeed, why? Because Franco-Manitoban communities are the only ones in Manitoba that already have French-language institutions (schools, cultural associations, etc.) that make Canadian bilingualism real, concrete and possible. Because Franco-Manitoban communities already have a bilingual workforce, and that is something that cannot be developed overnight. Because in today's context we cannot allow ourselves to underutilize the assets and skills of each and every person.

Conclusion

Bilingualism has never had a good reputation in Manitoba. However, the Manitoba government increasingly seems to realize th economic advantages of bilingualism and seems to be ready to say this publicly. Among Francophones, a new "culture" is beginning to develop; the French language is increasingly seen as a means of improving not only one's personal situation but also the situation of one's municipality, village, province and country. Both Francophone and Anglophone municipal officials have traditionally kept their distance from linguistic issues. Today, as members of the *Association des municipalités bilingues du Manitoba*, they have shown that they really want to participate in the economic growth of their community and that bilingualism is a factor that gives their community a great advantage for this growth.

This realization by bilingual municipalities is only one element in the formula for success. The federal government still has a vital role to play. But this role must change. It must recognize that it cannot impose from on high what people are not prepared to do for themselves locally. It must show greater flexibility in its criteria for access to programs. It must also be prepared to target some of its assistance to economically gainful organizations so that they may, in the long term, reinvest in their own community. Finally, it must ensure that bilingualism is part of all government programs.

Social and Economic Policy: A Distinction Without a Difference ?

Reflections on the Relationship Between Languages and the Economy as Applied to Canada

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Introduction

Throughout the world, human beings use thousands of languages to communicate with one another. Some of these are spoken in many countries and enjoy international status, while others are used in only one country or region or even in a single village. Some languages have expanded over the centuries, but there are also many that have become extinct. With the globalization of communications, a trend toward a reduction in the number of languages in the world has recently been observed. We are still far, however, from a situation where everyone would speak the same language.

Individuals and populations who choose to use one language rather than another do so, in large part, for economic reasons. They weigh the benefits and costs of using that language. This paper is intended to present an economic analysis of the principal forces that prompt individuals and communitees to take decisions in the area of language. The economic view should be seen as complementary to rather than in competition with other disciplines concerned with the same phenomena, such as linguistics, sociology and psychology.

The paper is presented as follows. The first two sections present two fundamental economic roles of languages: i.e. as tools of communication and as means of expressing cultural identities. The question is then raised as to how individuals and groups behave with respect to language, especially given that language is a collective phenomenon. Finally, the role of the government in the area of language is analysed from an economic point of view, with particular emphasis on the present Canadian context. The paper concludes by challenging certain aspects of the federal bilingualism policy.

Language as a communications tool

The economic activities of production and consumption of goods and services are such that people need to exchange information, for example concerning manufacturing techniques or the characteristics of the goods in question. The easier it is for participants to communicate among themselves, the better economic activities will be carried out. In view of the growing complexity of today's

economic transactions, such exchanges play an increasingly important role in the smooth functioning of economic activities.

Within a group of people working together, it can be stated as a basic principle that *communication is more efficient if a single language is used*. If two people use different languages, they must call upon scarce resources for translation. Language thus resembles a *standard*, in the same way that there are standards in other communication systems.

It is interesting to compare language to the other types of standards. For example, a few years ago, there were two types of videocassette recorders: Beta and VHS. The Beta recorders gradually disappeared from the market and were replaced by VHS machines. It is clear that this occurred because it was inefficient to have two competing systems that do the same thing but cannot communicate with one another. Market forces ensured that the weaker would disappear.

It is fitting to give another example where results are not as clear. In the realm of informatics, there are also two types of personal computers: those of the IBM type and those of the Macintosh type. Once again, it is advantageous for people who communicate with one another to use the same system, and that is probably why there is a trend toward domination by one system — IBM and its compatibles — which controls the largest share of the market. However, the minority Macintosh system has not completely disappeared (and this does not seem likely to happen in the near future). The reason for this is probably that microcomputers are more complex and more sophisticated communications tools than videocassette recorders. In specific niches, some users consider the Macintosh system superior to the IBM system. Moreover, small groups of users who frequently communicate with one another but have little outside contact, may find it advantageous to use Macintosh machines. Finally, some types of communications are possible between the two systems, although they are more difficult than those within the same system.

These examples are useful in assessing what is happening in the area of language. We also observe a trend toward the use of one principal language of communications. Internationally, this language, which is currently English, is sometimes known as a *lingua franca*. But other languages continue to exist, even if they play a less important role. This situation is more similar to the realm of microcomputers than that of videocassette recorders, probably for the same reason as that given beforehand, namely that language is a complex system of communications that is used in a wide number of activities. In spite of the advantages of using a single language, some activities can be carried on in another language if their scope is limited to a small group of people. Thus, most of the people who use English for international communications use their national language at home.

It may be noted in passing that bilingualism, defined as a situation where two languages coexist more or less equally in a given environment, is not an efficient system of communications and does not naturally result from competition between languages. At best, bilingualism can only be an unstable equilibrium. Starting from a situation of bilingualism, market forces will move toward the overriding use of one of the two languages. It is probably no accident that the competition between IBM and Mackintosh has led to domination of one system. It would have been unlikely for the market to stabilize with each system sharing half of the sales.

Language as expression of a culture

Individuals who choose an electronic communications system usually consider only the capacities of the different systems to perform the required tasks. There is no preference *a priori* for one system over another. One feature that distinguishes languages from electronic communications systems is that people, as members of a community, may have a *sentimental attachment* to a language because it is a means of expressing their culture. At first, this aspect may seem less subject to economic analysis than the role of languages as means of communication, but to the extent that language is part of people's preferences and affects their economic decisions, it must be taken into account.

The reason why some people are attached to their language is that it is an essential component of the consumption of certain types of products, namely, cultural products. For products such as literature, song and film, language is an integral part of the message that is sent. It makes no difference whether one views a film with a Beta or VHS videocassette recorder, but it does make a difference if one views a film that has been translated rather than in its original language. These products of a cultural nature represent a significant proportion of a consumer's budget, and great importance is therefore attached to their linguistic component.

For some people as well, language is a means of identifying with a community or a nation. Many countries throughout the world are defined by a national language. Other countries include various regions identified with a linguistic community. For these communities, it is a matter of national pride to speak their own language, regardless of its effectiveness as a means of communication.

Individual and collective behaviour

Each individual initially has his or her mother tongue. For some, this is widely sufficient to perform every desired task. But for many, learning a second language is necessary at some point in their life to broaden their communications horizons.

Acquiring a second language requires scarce resources. Individuals must weigh the costs and benefits of learning a language. It can therefore be said that it is an

investment in human capital. Of all the existing languages, interest chiefly lies in learning the one that is most valuable as a communications tool. In general, the larger the population already using a given language, the greater the advantages will be for other people to learn it. It will also be easier (and thus less costly) to learn a language if many people speak it, because opportunities to use it will be more numerous. These last two characteristics (greater advantages and lower costs) mean that the dominant language in a given environment will be the language that one tends to learn, with the effect of increasing its domination. This outcome is in keeping with the principle stated above, namely, that communications among a group of persons are more efficient if everyone uses the same language.

The dominant language may vary depending on the environment in question. With respect to international communications, the language that everyone currently wants to learn is English. However, at a more local level, one may want to learn the language of the majority of the population living in a region. Thus, in Canada's regions with a Francophone majority, the Anglophone minority benefits from learning French, although English is the international language. The economic status of linguistic groups is also a determining factor. Thus, in the past in Quebec, the most useful language was English, despite the fact that the majority of the population was Francophone.

As previously mentioned, some people may also wish to learn a language for the cultural motive. Acquisition of a new language provides access to a culture in which one is interested or that one wants to know better. This applies, for example to people in Canada who learn Spanish. In general, only a small proportion of the population learns a language for this reason. It may, however, explain why some people in the English-speaking provinces of Canada learn French. For these people, the benefit, in their immediate environment, of knowing French is relatively small; the potential advantage may be greater if they expect one day to work in an environment where there are more Francophones. I think that the main reason why these people learn French or send their children to French immersion schools is that a knowledge of French contributes to Canadian identity, as a bilingual and multicultural country. Rightly or wrongly, it is thought that a knowledge of French promotes Canadian unity.

Finally language, as both a communications tool and a means of expressing a culture, is a *collective good*. If a language is used in a given environment, those who know it can fully benefit from it without it costing them anything. This characteristic means that some decisions are taken collectively instead of individually. Thus, a group of people may want a language to benefit from official recognition in various types of activities.

Language policies

From the previous analysis, *four* main ideas can be derived in regard to the relationship between languages and the economy (these ideas were italicized in the text)[102]: (1) *communication is more efficient if a single language is used*; (2) people have a *sentimental attachment* to their language because it expresses their culture; (3) the acquisition of a second language is an *investment in human capital*; and (4) language is a *collective good*. These ideas can be used to evaluate the role of government in the area of language.

The economic theory of the role of government also identifies *two* principal reasons for intervention: (1) to promote a better *allocation of resources* where solely market forces are not able to do so; and (2) to change the *distribution of wealth*, whenever it is deemed that some groups are not receiving their fair share.

In addition to these theoretical considerations, we must also situate ourselves in the present Canadian context in order to evaluate language policies. Budgetary restraints at all levels of government are translated into cuts, which means that government must intervene only when it is truly needed; when it does intervene it must do so at reasonable cost. In some English-speaking regions of Canada, the relevance of language policies that are deemed costly or needless is being questioned. In Quebec, some people are not satisfied with the constitutional situation and with Canada's current linguistic arrangements. A polarization of the two linguistic groups in Canada has occurred, i.e. an increase in the percentage of Francophones in Quebec and a decrease in the other provinces. As a result, it is surely appropriate at this time to re-examine all of the existing language policies in Canada.

Why must government intervene in the area of language? Can market forces not solely allocate resources efficiently? Recalling the example of videocassette recorders, we find that there was no need for active state intervention for convergence toward a single system to occur. The market itself recognized that it was more efficient. The same conclusion might be reached in the area of language. We know that it is more efficient to have a common language of communications internationally, and that is why people have come, more or less naturally, to use English today. Therefore, if we consider language's role solely as communications tool, it seems that the market is able to do things correctly, without any need for intervention.

On the other hand, we know that language is not only a means of communicating; it is also a dimension of a people's culture. The market's decision to use one

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[102] For a discussion of these four ideas, see also Bloom and Grenier (1992).

language in preference to another may significantly impact on the distribution of resources among linguistic groups. Given the costs of learning a second language, the group whose language is used in a given environment enjoys certain advantages economically, similar to a right of seignoriage. A society might decide that this is inequitable and want to modify its territory's linguistic rules within so as to assist the language of the disadvantaged group.

Two approaches to language policy can be identified. The first promotes the use in a given environment of a dominant language other than the one that the market would have chosen. This is the approach adopted by the Government of Quebec, which has made French the official language of Quebec. The second promotes the use of two or more languages to counteract the tendency toward domination by only one of them. This is what the federal government does with its official bilingualism policy .

Policies favouring a single language can be rationalized as follows. If two languages coexist in a given environment, efficiency of communications would have one of them come to dominate, but *a priori* we do not know which one. A situation therefore exists where two stable linguistic equilibria are possible. The government might consider that the equilibrium that exists at a given time is not acceptable from the point of view of the collective good and intervene so as to establish the other equilibrium. A few years ago in Quebec, English was the principal language of the economy despite the fact that most of the population was French-speaking. Some people found this unacceptable and applied vigorous policies to change the situation, i.e. to switch from an equilibrium where English dominated to another where French dominates. These policies succeeded to the extent that at present, there seems to be a tendency toward stability, with a preponderance of French.

It is interesting to make the comparison with the example of videocassette recorders previously mentioned. The owners of Beta machines lost and owners of VHS won when the market decided to keep one a single standard. These wealth transfers were probably not large enough for government to intervene, but a situation can be imagined where intervention would have been warranted. Let us assume that the majority of consumers own Beta machines but that the owners of VHS machines have more power and are able to impose their standard. Under these circumstances, the government might decide that this is not acceptable and decree that the standard will be the Beta system.

The other approach to language policies, favoured by the federal government, is to assist the disadvantaged language by more or less encouraging equal use of the two languages, with the aim of counteracting the forces pushing toward the use of a dominant language, but without taking away rights to that language. The bilingualism policy's objective is to give to speakers of the two languages the same

rights in the use of the various services, in particular those of the federal government.

From the standpoint of efficiency of communications, a generalized policy of bilingualism is difficult to justify, since communications are more efficient if a single language is used. This also explains the difficulty for this kind of policy to reach its goal. Official bilingualism has not curbed the assimilation of Francophones outside of Quebec. In the federal Public Service, employees mostly think and work in English with the final product being translated into French. At most, bilingualism has slowed the irreversible trend toward the overriding use of English. The bilingualism policy, therefore, aims for an equilibrium which will never be achieved and, in the event that it is, such an equilibrium is unstable.

It is true that knowledge of a second language benefits those who are bilingual, but this in itself does not warrant government intervention to make as many people as possible bilingual. It is as if one wished to put an IBM computer and a Macintosh computer in every office so as to benefit from the advantages of each system. If people find it useful to know another language, they will learn it themselves, without it being necessary to assist them.

The question of relationship between language and culture remains. Bilingualism in itself may be valued because it is part of Canadian culture. This is how we can say that a bilingualism policy has its benefits.

Conclusion

This analysis suggests that there are economic benefits to using a single principal language, but that other languages are also useful, partly because they serve to express various cultures. The federal bilingualism policy has succeeded in preserving this diversity, but it has not stopped the trend toward a single principal language. In this sense, the policy has not succeeded. Canada is not and never will be a bilingual country. It would be more accurate to say that Canada is an English-speaking country that recognizes French as a second language. Given the circumstances and the international context, this may be the best that can be hoped for, but some people are not fully satisfied with this situation.

In my opinion, a more appropriate and effective policy would be to establish regional bilingualism which would accept a certain kind of separation between the two linguistic communities. There is only one province in Canada, Quebec, where the French language has a status other than that of being the second language. For some, the vitality of French requires official recognition of this province as French-speaking territory. This means that, in Quebec, French should be recognized as the principal language and English only as a second language. Clearly, the predominance of English internationally cannot be ignored, and this implies that

many Francophones would continue to be bilingual. But precisely because the international language is English, it is important that there be a national territory where French is the first language. The present situation, where French has second-class status both nationally and internationally, is not very beneficial for the vitality of Francophone culture.

In the same way, in the other provinces, English should be recognized as the first language and French as the second (perhaps along with other languages). This would much more accurately reflect everyday reality. A bilingualism policy might be justified in only one province, New Brunswick, where the minority is almost as large as the majority.

Reference

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The Economic Benefits of Linguistic Duality and Bilingualism: A Political Economy Approach

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Introduction

The economic benefits of our official languages policy are far greater than we might expect. In the modern world as we approach the third millenium it is increasingly clear that none of the old suppositions about economic growth and human development are going to remain unchanged. Nation-states and more importantly the individuals and family units that compose them can increase their economic security and material welfare by being as supple as possible in meeting the challenges of the global economy. Of course, there is a faddist degree of cliche in this statement. But like most cliches it contains many important elements of truth. The very act of acquiring knowledge and linguistic competence has a positive disproportional impact on the economic potential of an individual. Furthermore it contributes to the likelihood that the individual can make a greater contribution to his/her society. Quite literally their capacity to participate in their society is considerably enhanced. As central Europeans often say "the more languages you speak the more times you are a human being."

This notion of communicative competence is at the heart of a fascinating and powerful argument made by the political and social theorist Jurgen Habermas about the critical foundations of enhanced democracy through greater and more intelligent participation by the ordinary citizen. According to Habermas such a capacity for communicative competence is an essential ingredient in a vibrant democracy for it enables citizens to share a common conception of their life world, i.e. their shared experience of community and cultural life. Habermas has in mind a very particular form of communicative competence that goes well beyond what is meant by our official language policy. [103]

The first step toward that competence is learning the language and becoming comfortable in using it to articulate ones view of the world. Hence, developing communicative competence in both of the official languages of Canada offers returns to the investment involved that go well beyond the normal ones that individuals expect. Not only does the individual him/herself benefit but the society

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[103] Jurgen Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action*, Volumes 1&2 translation of *Theorie des Kommunikativen Handelns*, Band 1&2 trans. Thomas McCarthy, Boston: Beacon Press, 1984.

as a whole and the political economy that is the product of that society benefit as well. In short, a more vibrant democracy with stronger webs of social affiliation is constructed.

This kind of society, where as many as 4.5 million people speak both official languages, is more open to critical understanding, more supple in its appreciation of different ways of problem solving and more stimulated to becoming involved. This then creates a more dynamic cultural milieu that is receptive to economic innovation and experimentation.

In such an environment economic growth is much more likely to occur and to flourish than in an environment that restricts part of the population because of linguistic difference. Of course, in a homogeneous society the cost is less obvious. That is so because it is possible, though probably more difficult, to teach the values of accommodation to new ideas and openness to innovation and diversity to an otherwise homogeneous language group. But even if the learning curve is somewhat steeper than in a diverse heterogeneous society, at least, there is no one group within the labour force whose talents risk being excluded and whose contribution to economic growth thereby lost.

But in a society where there are large linguistic minorities, failure to promote equal treatment of the language of the minority involves losing the contribution that the minority group can make to overall value added in the human capital or knowledge-based sector. Instead you have either unemployed or underemployed factors of production. This then undermines the overall productivity of the economy.

So the positive benefits of our official languages policy are economic, cultural and socio-political. Recently, Jurgen Habermas has commented at length on the Canadian philosopher Charles Taylor's treatment of "the politics of deep diversity and the significance to liberal democratic society of linguistic diversity and multiculturalism.[104] Unfortunately, in Quebec among nationalist circles, multiculturalism is a codeword that signifies unwillingness on the part of English Canada to recognize Quebec's cultural and linguistic specificity. But Taylor, who is himself a Quebecer, uses it to discuss precisely this latter quality, as well as other groups in modern society whose specificity calls out for recognition. While the debate is about something much broader than what we are discussing here and carried on at an abstract level it is still worthwhile to consider briefly the reaction of Habermas to Taylor.

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[104] Charles Taylor, K. Appiah, Jurgen Habermas et al., *Multiculturalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.

For Taylor there is a modern human right in asserting the dignity of one's difference and hence identity. This difference in identity is entitled to equal treatment under the law. The problem arises, according to Taylor, when there is a conflict between the collective rights of one identifiable group with the individual rights of a member of a different but equally worthy of being respected identifiable group. Such conflicts lie behind recent political controversies in Canada which led to the defeat of the Meech and Charlottetown agreements. Conflicts of this type inevitably lead to two rather different models of liberal democracy. For Taylor the way out lies in reconciling these two models by allowing for deep diversity which respects the need for cultural survival and permits the politics of difference to be practiced. Clearly, Canada's approach to linguistic duality satisfies this condition. Habermas, however, rejects Taylor's claim that "the protection of collective identities comes into conflict with the right to equal individual liberties." [105]

Instead, he argues that the theory of rights is by no means blind to cultural differences. "(For) a correctly understood theory of rights requires a politics of recognition that protects the integrity of the individual in the life contexts in which his/her identity is formed. In other words, true liberal democracy already has built into it recognition of the context in which individual rights are asserted and defended." [106]

According to Habermas, individuals can acquire true autonomy and therefore liberal freedom only to the extent that they can understand themselves to be the authors of the laws to which they are subject as private legal persons...private and public autonomy are (thus) equiprimordial...in the final analysis, private legal persons cannot even attain the enjoyment of equal individual liberties unless they themselves, by jointly excercising their autonomy as citizens, arrive at a clear understanding about what interests and criteria are justified.

Once we take this internal connection between democracy and the constitutional state seriously, it becomes clear that the system of rights is blind neither to unequal social conditions nor to cultural differences.[107]

Hence, if we follow Habermas' critique it is perfectly normal to allow for diversity in the treatment of linguistic groups in order that the principle of equal treatment is actualized. Thus, Canada's policy of linguisitic duality including protection of minority language rights, accompanied by a policy of multiculturalism, goes a long

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[105] *Ibid.*, p.110.

[106] *Ibid.*, p.113.

[107] *Ibid.*

way toward enhancing democratic practices. Quite simply, Canada is a more robust and vibrant democracy because of this policy.

Since productivity in the workplace is clearly related to general satisfaction with one's position in society, our policy of linguistic duality strengthens our economic performance. The oft repeated prejudice that bilingualism is costly and unnecessary ignores this critical linkage between the healthful functioning of democracy and the policy of linguistic duality including recognition of the rights of linguistic minorities and the direct impact this has upon our overall productivity as an economy. For the productivity of employees depends "not only on their ability and the amount invested in them both on and off the job but also on their motivation, or the intensity of their work".[108]

Motivation, of course, is largely influenced by the financial rewards associated with work, but one's general level of satisfaction, one's sense of belonging and having faith in the business also play an important role.

Any costs associated with providing minority language services or promoting bilingual education or offering services in both languages are then easily outweighed by the economic benefits that flow from a stronger sense of political efficacy and democratic participation that results from the policy. In other words, investment by the federal government in our official languages policy is investment not only in the stability of our political future as a country, but also an investment in our economic potential.

Human capital theory and the supply of labour

Another fundamental way of assessing the contribution of linguistic duality to our economy is through the use of the concept of human capital. Human capital can be best understood as those attributes of workers which are capable of being enhanced through skill development, training and education. One of the founders of human capital theory, Gary Becker, has defined investment in human capital as those "activities that influence future monetary and psychic income by increasing the resources in people."[109]

The contribution of human capital to economic growth is clearly developed and demonstrated. The residual amount of economic growth that remains after investment in physical capital and technological change is accounted for is

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[108] Gary Becker, *Human Capital: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis with Special Reference to Education*, New York: Colombia University Press, 1964, p.36.

[109] *Ibid.*, p.1.

attributable to human capital. In general "it is argued that the more highly educated and skilled persons always tend to earn more than others."[110]

However, as unemployment has risen over the past fifteen years, certain conclusions of human capital theory might have to be reassessed in the light of new evidence or alternative influences. This need for caution in assessing the data is clear when we assess the situation in Quebec. For example, if we accept that bilingualism is the product of investment in human capital and supplies a more highly skilled worker, we would expect that bilingual workers would earn more.

This appears to be confirmed by the evidence when we compare the average earnings of unilingual and bilingual Francophones with unilingual and bilingual Anglophones in Quebec (see Table 1). In 1985, bilingual Francophones and bilingual Anglophones earned substanitally more than their unilingual counterparts. Bilingual Francophones also earned somewhat more than bilingual Anglophones. Also, the overall gap in earnings between Francophones and Anglophones has diminished considerably from more than 30% in 1970 to less than 10% in 1980.

Table 1-Labour income differences by linguistic attribute Quebec 1970 - 1985

Maternal language	**1970**	**1980**	**1985**
French	**100**	**100**	**100**
English	**130,5**	**111**	**109,9**
Linguistic Group			
Unilingual Francophones	100	100	100
Bilingual Francophones	142,7	137,3	135,5
Unilingual Anglophones	145,8	120,5	123,4
Bilingual Anglophones	163,9	132,3	131,7
Anglophone-Francophones			115,7

Source: Conseil de la langue francaise, *Indicateurs de la situation linguistique au Québec*, Québec, 1992. Table 5.2.

When we look closely we also notice, however, that the gap between unilingual as opposed to bilingual workers is greater for Francophones than Anglophones and that unilingual Anglophones earn substantially more than unilingual Francophones. François Vaillancourt in his presentation to this colloquium has updated this table to include data from 1990. His 1990 results do not change the overall impression that bilingual Francophones have done better over the years and that unilingual Anglophones do better than unilingual Francophones. However, before we can

[110] *Ibid.*, p.2.

arrive at a conclusion about the data, we have to take into account skill differences among the two populations. When this is done the results look very different.

When we examine the data for income differences by linguistic attributes adjusting for educational differences so as to compare workers with equivalent education, we can see that unilingual Francophone men earn more on average than bilingual Anglophone men. Bilingual Francophones, on the other hand, earn more than unilingual Francophones and bilingual Anglophones earn more than unilingual Anglophones (See Table 2).

In general, as Vaillancourt confirms in his current presentation, the more education one gets, the greater the income, on average. But these improvements are affected in a differential way by linguistic attributes. For example, according to Vaillancourt, English-speaking unilingual Anglophones and English-speaking Allophones fared worse than did bilingual Francophones in 1990. However, ethnicity also appears to play a role. Indeed, French-speaking Allophones did worse in comparison to unilingual Francophones than did unilingual Anglophones.

The stereotypical argument that a unilingual Anglophone did better than a unilingual Francophone has not been true since 1980 once educational differences are eliminated. But like many myths it takes time to be overturned. What the data then reveals is that while human capital theory is an accurate predictor of the economic benefits attributable to education, in general, and language training, in particular, other influences can skew the results. In the case of Quebec, it would appear that the emphasis upon the priority of French has had this impact, but that ethnicity may also play a role.

One has to be careful, however, in interpreting the data. For the difference might simply reflect the fact that Quebec's Anglophone community lost a large number of skilled workers in the period 1975 to 1980. The Anglophone labour force might be proportionately less skilled and specialized than the Francophone labour force even after basic educational differences are taken into account. Finally, I suspect that once the unemployment rate remains elevated for a prolonged period of time such as it has in Quebec, this skews the impact of human capital attributes such as education and training.

Table 2-Labour income differences between linguistic groups by sex and education, Quebec 1970-1985.

Linguistic group	Men 1970	Men 1980	Men 1985	Women 1970	Women 1980	Women 1985
Unilingual Francophones	100	100	100	100	100	100
Bilingual Francophones	112,6	105,1	105,9	109,7	107,5	109,1
Unilingual Anglophones	110,1	92,8	87,2	100	95,4	100
Bilingual Anglophones	117	100	96,5	100	100	100
Anglophones-Francophones			90,1			100

Source: *Indicateurs de la situation linguistique au Québec*. Table 5.3 taken from François Vaillancourt, *Langue et disparités de statut économique au Québec, 1970 et 1980*, Quebec: Conseil de la langue française, "Dossiers" no. 28, 1988, Table 3.2; François Vaillancourt, *Langue et statut économique au Québec, 1980-1985*, Québec, Conseil de la langue française, "Dossier", no. 34, 1991, Table 3.2 p. 71.

The benefits of bilingualism in job search: some preliminary evidence

Education in general is best understood in economic terms as investment in human capital. The bundle of attributes associated with a skilled or well educated worker must clearly include language skills. As such, one would expect that knowledge of both of the official languages of the country is a clear asset with employers. To test out this proposition, at least at an impressionistic level, I undertook an unscientific sample of some of the largest firms in a five-industry sample. These industries included construction, pharmaceuticals, automobile manufacturing, banking, and retail merchandising and manufacturing. In each case, leading firms were selected and their human resources department contacted. A brief telephone interview was held to discuss whether or not bilingual skills were considered an asset by the company in their hiring policy.

The results of these surveys (see table 3) confirmed that from the point of view of the employee, bilingualism is a clear asset that helps workers secure a position (see table 2). The firms that were sampled account for some 120,000 jobs. While bilingualism was rated as an asset, in none of the cases did it appear to involve higher pay. This may be because of the high unemployment rates that have prevailed in Canada over the past few years. Or it may simply be the bias of the sample which is, of course, too small and not scientific.

But bilingualism was clearly an asset in gaining and retaining a job. This applied not only in Quebec but elsewhere in the country. Two employers did point out that on the West Coast, knowledge of Asian languages might be more important.

Perhaps the most insightful comment of one employer was that having bilingual skills in a rapidly changing world made the employee much more flexible and more valuable to the company in their capacity to adapt.

Table 3-Bilingual skills in job recruitment[111]

Industry	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4
Construction	Y	Y	N	N
Auto manufacturing	Y	Y	N	N
Banking & Finance	Y	Y	N	N
Pharmaceuticals	Y	Y	N	N
Retail trade & Processing	Y	Y	N	N

Q.1 Question one. Are bilingual language skills considered an asset when recruiting employees?.
Q.2 Question two. Outside of Quebec are they considered an asset?
Q.3 Question three. Are bilingual staff paid more?
Q.4 Question four. Are bonuses paid to staff who become bilingual?

Y= yes; N= no.

The knowledge economy and the intellectual stimulus of linguistic duality

In recent years there has been an explosion of new information technologies that have revolutionized the way we do business and carry on economic activities. Robots, computers, fax machines, video recorders and cameras, cellular telephones, the internet, virtual reality devices are all part of this world. All of these devices require a certain level of skill to design and to operate. They have also had an important impact on more traditional methods of communication. Most importantly they have led to a major restructuring of employment patterns in advanced industrial societies like Canada. Whether they have been a net destroyer of jobs

[111] A number of firms stated that bilingualism was required of employees dealing with the public in Quebec and New Brunswick. Other firms stated that knowledge of French was a requirement in Quebec. Several firms stated that in B.C. knowledge of Mandarin or Cantonese was a definite asset. Some firms while not paying special bonuses for bilingual capacities did however provide educational assistance to employees seeking to improve their second language skills. Total number of employees involved: 120,000.

rather than a net creator of jobs is still not clear.[112] While much is made of the novelty of the new technology, this is not the first time, nor will it be the last, that technological change will have an enormous influence upon the economy. During the 1930s, for example, also a period of high unemployment, the rate of technological innovation was very great.

But what is clear about the new technology and the jobs associated with them is that education and skill level are increasingly important. To the extent that knowledge of another language is evidence of greater skills and also makes the worker more adaptable to change, a policy which promotes greater linguistic knowledge is likely to increase the flexibility of our work force. The American Secretary of Labour, Robert Reich made his fame as an academic by writing a series of controversial books that argued the wealth of nations would increasingly reflect the extent to which they welcomed highly skilled, well educated information-focused workers. This new class of workers, which Reich has called symbolic analysts, are mobile, contribute greatly to value added and are extremely flexible. Increasingly they will receive higher incomes and better job opportunities because of the scarcity value of their human capital. Strong growth economies will be ones in which symbolic analysts thrive and are a growing proportion of the overall labour force.

Reich defines symbolic analysts as people who work at "problem solving, problem-identifying, and strategic brokering." The services they produce:

> "do not enter the world of commerce as standarized things. Traded instead are the manipulation of symbols: data, words, oral and visual representations... Symbolic analysts solve, identify, and broker problems by manipulating symbols. They simplify reality into abstract images that can be rearranged, juggled, experimented with, communicated to other specialists, and then, eventually transformed back into reality. The manipulations are done with analytic tools, sharpened by experience....Symbolic analysts often work alone or in small teams, which may be connected to larger organizations,

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[112] See Chris Freeman and Luc Soete, *Work for All or Mass Unemployment: Computerised Technical Change into the 21st Century*, London & New York: Pinter Publishers, 1994, for a thorough discussion of this question.

> including worldwide webs. Teamwork is critical...When not conversing with their teammates, symbolic analysts sit before their computer terminals, examining words and numbers, moving them, altering them, trying out new words and numbers, formulating and testing hypotheses, designing or strategizing."[113]

Clearly, language skills are a very important aspect of the work of symbolic analysts. People who show that they have the capacity to learn other languages are much more likely to succeed as symbolic analysts. To the extent that Canada operates as a country in which linguistic duality is valued we are more likely to be receptive to the kind of climate in which symbolic analysts thrive. This is bound to have a very positive impact upon our rate of growth and the creation and maintenance of high quality, well paid jobs.

The comparative advantage in international trade

The current trend toward global production and trade liberalization has meant that Canada is increasingly dependent upon international trade for its economic growth. Currently, the economic growth in our economy is largely fueled by international trade and the export sector.[114] Our policy of linguistic duality makes us more open to our prospective trading partners and equips us to be more sensitive to the need to master other languages in order to engage in trade. The two official languages of Canada, English and French, are widely used in some 192 sovereign states.[115] There are major Francophone countries in Africa and Europe. Our linguistic duality makes us potentially a more attractive partner for many European countries than our immediate partner, the United States. For many Europeans, Americans are seen as unwilling to learn other languages and therefore insensitive to other cultural influences.

The growth of knowledge-based industries that have significant symbolic analytical content will increase in international trade in the years to come. If we are to continue to prosper from our trade and extract the maximum economic rents from our resource base we must seek to maximize symbolic analytical content in the goods and services in which we trade. This will increase our national wealth and job

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[113] Robert Reich, *The Work of Nations*. New York: Random House, 1991, p.163-164.

[114] See Hon. Paul Martin, Budget Plan, Feb. 27,1995. Ottawa: Dept. of Finance, 1995, p.15.

[115] Department of Canadian Heritage. *The Economic Benefits of Linguistic Duality and Bilingualism*. Ottawa: Feb. 13, 1995. Draft. p.12.

opportunies for our citizens. To the extent that our policy of linguistic duality improves the climate for symbolic analysts, our trading potential will be increased.

The situation of linguistic minorities: the case of Quebec anglophones

It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss in great detail the impact of our policy of linguistic duality upon our linguistic minority communities. Clearly, the policy is extremely important to ensure that these communities survive in a healthy way, for by doing so they make a critical contribution to the diversity of our country in exposing one of our two official languages to the other linguistic group. But let me briefly address the position of the linguistic minority community that I know best, the English-speaking minority in Quebec. In recent years there has been considerable progress in increasing the French-speaking capacities of this community. Knowledge of French has risen from 36.7% in 1971 to 53.7 % in 1986. However, among people between the ages of 15 to 29 in 1986 67% reported themselves as knowing both French and English.[116] The most recent data in the 1991 Census showed that almost 60% of English speaking Quebecers could converse in French. Among the French majority community, however, progress has been much slower moving from 25.7% in 1971 to 29.6% in 1986. But one must remember that this is still vastly superior to any other province. (New Brunswick possibly excepted.)

But, despite these signs of progress, the minority English community in Quebec feels increasingly insecure about the future. An alarmingly high proportion of its young people enrolled in English school intend to leave the province (73%) to pursue their careers elsewhere. This compares with 17.9% for Francophone young people enrolled in French schools. Even among Anglophones enrolled in French schools over 50% intend to leave.[117]

The explanation for this sentiment lies in the perceived experience of young English speakers in being discriminated against when searching for work in Quebec despite their excellent French language skills. Clearly this situation is made worse by the high rates of unemployment that prevail in Quebec. Recently this discrimination became a public political football when the then head of the *Conseil de la langue francaise*, M. Pierre E. Laporte suggested that there was evidence this was the case. Despite the angry denials by government officials and opinion leaders in the

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[116] Alliance Quebec, *Report of the Task Force on Job Opportunities for English-Speaking Youth in Quebec*. Montreal: September,1992. The data are drawn from 1986 and 1991 census data.

[117] Uli Locher, *Youth and Language, Language use and attitudes among young people instructed in English*, Vol. 2. Ottawa: Canadian Heritage, 1994; p.76, table 8.4.

majority community, the facts are clear. The public service in Quebec is dramatically underepresented in the number of Anglophones it has hired. Only 465 Quebec provincial public servants claim English as their maternal language. Amazingly, English speakers are also under-represented at the federal level, occupying only 5.2% of the jobs outside the National Capital Region in Quebec.[118]

Alliance Quebec has recently produced a report, *Task Force On Job Opportunities for English-Speaking Youth In Quebec*. According to the report, "despite their bilingualism, young English-speaking Quebecers feel they do not have the same opportunities as their Francophone counterparts and many perceive they are not wanted or welcome."[119] A survey of employers found little evidence of flexibility in assessing French language competence among English-speaking applicants with French language skills. Coupled with the strong pressure of Quebec nationalism, the climate is worrisome to the English-speaking minority.

The benefit-cost ratio: the danger of ignoring the consequences of high unemployment and the role it can play in exacerbating linguistic tensions

Just as every cloud has its silver lining, every positive scenario has its dark side. There is no doubt that a policy of linguistic duality is of great benefit to Canada. But the very presence of the linguistic divisions that exist sets up a potentially negative chain of circumstances that we are vulnerable to if things go wrong. Over the past fifteen years there has been a steady upward drift in the rate of unemployment in Canadian society. Each major recession has been followed by an economic recovery that fails to restore the unemployment rate to levels lower than the rate that prevailed before the recession. Unemployment in 1995 is still well over 9%. Prior to the beginning of the last recession in 1990 it had declined to 7.8%. The gap between our own rate and the rate in the United States has widened to 4 percentage points.[120]

The 1995 federal budget which was received with such positive public reaction as a deficit-fighting budget will have a major negative impact upon growth rates and the rate of unemployment. For the time being, this has passed largely unnoticed except among professional economists.[121] However, in the coming months this will

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[118] Canada, *Commissioner of Official Languages Annual Report*, Ottawa 1993.

[119] Alliance Quebe, *Task Force*, p.7-8.

[120] All data from Statistics Canada. I discuss our unemployment problem and the now chronic nature of it at length in my forthcoming book *Rediscovering Full Employment*.

[121] The *Globe and Mail, Report on Business*, March 31, 1995, p.1.

become much clearer to the public. Whenever one is faced with a large number of unemployed people for prolonged periods of time, it is inevitable that people will search for scapegoats. Linguistic division unfortunately means that certain tensions can easily arise in difficult economic circumstances. If the linguistic minority perceives its community suffering from a high rate of unemployment, it is bound to ask who is responsible and how can it escape from the predicament. In Quebec there is no shortage of separatist answers to this question.

Some years ago I wrote a paper on monetary policy in Canada in which I argued that Quebec nationalism received a boost whenever the gap between the unemployment rate in Quebec and Ontario widened.[122] While high unemployment may work in the direction of making people cautious about embracing separation, unemployment is an important factor in fuelling Quebec nationalism and therefore linguistic tensions.

Hence, if we embrace a policy of linguistic duality, it is essential that we also embrace a policy dedicated toward low unemployment and strong economic growth. This requires more than just a commitment to enhancing our linguistic capacities. It also requires a degree of co-operation from the Bank of Canada in ensuring that low unemployment, strong and stable economic growth, and low inflation are the policy goals of monetary policy. A central bank that is fixated upon zero inflation to the neglect of these other goals is likely to undermine national unity and exacerbate linguistic tensions. Clearly it is beyond the scope of this paper to explore this in any depth, but no review of the economic benefits of linguistic duality can escape the fact that high unemployment must not be ignored in the framing of policy. To do so would be to risk all the positive benefits, economic and otherwise, that flow from adopting the policy. Policy makers might have to judge whether zero inflation and pleasing the money markets is more important than the survival and healthy growth of our country.

I would like to acknowledge the research assistance of Ms. Susannah Benady.

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[122] Harold Chorney, "The Economic and Political Consequences of Canadian Monetarism." Paper presented to the British Association of Canadian Studies, University of Nottingham, 1991.

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Proceedings of the Official Languages and the Economy Colloquium: New Canadian Perspectives

Ned Ellis

Good morning! My name is Ned Ellis. I'm Director of Strategic Research in the Department of Canadian Heritage. It's my pleasure this morning to be your moderator for this session. I would like to introduce my colleague, Pierre Gaudet, who will be the moderator this afternoon, but throughout the day, Pierre and I will be sharing the joy and challenge of being in front of you. My first job this morning is to introduce Hilaire Lemoine who is Director General of Official Languages to say a few words of welcome to you.

Hilaire Lemoine

Thank you, Ned. I am delighted to extend to you a personal welcome, and to welcome you, on behalf of the Official Languages Branch, to this colloquium entitled *Official Languages and the Economy: New Canadian Perspectives*.

Today is intended to be a brainstorming event, bringing together academics, and community leaders, as well as government officials. Recently, as I'm sure you probably know, all federal programs have increasingly been required to examine the economic impact of their activities. Social programs, such as official languages, have been traditionally justified in terms of social cohesion or participation objectives. We have, however, long been aware that there are significant economic benefits which merit further exploration.

The purpose of our colloquium is to explore, in a Canadian and worldwide context, the relations between the two official languages and the economy. Today, we will be looking at various aspects of these relations: access by businesses to Canadian and international markets, the advantages of each of the two official languages, and the development of the minority communities.

We will also ask questions: What are the existing and potential benefits of linguistic duality? What can the federal government do to facilitate and promote links between language and the economy?

With a view to stimulating discussion, nine academics and specialists from different parts of Canada agreed to prepare papers on certain aspects of these issues and to take part in the colloquium. I would like to thank them now, in advance, for their contribution.

In addition to welcoming you this morning, my job is to introduce Mr. Roger Collet, the Assistant Deputy Minister for the Citizenship and Canadian Identity Sector at the Department of Canadian Heritage.

Mr. Collet is a Franco-Manitoban. Since his youth—for those who know him more intimately—he has worked very hard within the Franco-Manitoban community, as a volunteer and undisputed leader. He was a school trustee, president of the *Société franco-manitobaine*, and co-founder of the *Fédération des francophones hors-Québec*, now known as the FCFA. For those who go back further, he was also one of the people who signed the famous report entitled *The Heirs of Lord Durham*.

In 1981, he told himself that if he wanted to change the system, he would have to become part of it. So he joined the public service as a regional director for the Department of the Secretary of State in Manitoba. Then, from 1986 to 1992, he was the regional executive director for the Department of Communications for the Prairie Region, before returning to the Department of the Secretary of State as Assistant Deputy Minister for Official Languages and Translation.

In 1993, with the creation of the Department of Canadian Heritage, he was appointed Assistant Deputy Minister, Citizenship and Canadian Identity. Mr. Collet is currently responsible for official languages, multiculturalism, Canadian studies, voluntary action, State ceremonial and, of course, Sport Canada.

In the area of official languages, over the last three years, he has devised, developed and directed policies and programs for school governance and post-secondary education in French. He brought about—and I choose my words carefully—the merger of the Promotion of Official Languages Branch with the Official Languages in Education Branch. He launched the exercise aimed at repositioning support to associations representing official-language minority communities and, more recently—and here again I choose my words carefully—he was the driving force behind the renewal of the federal government's commitment to official-language communities under sections 41 and 42 of the *Official Languages Act*.

This impressive list of accomplishments should tell you that Roger Collet has a vision, a dynamic track record of translating problems into opportunities. It is, to say the least, challenging and rewarding to work with him. Now, if he will, I will give him the opportunity to say a few words.

Roger Collet

Thank you, Hilaire. These days, in the federal government, being showered with such praise is a bad sign. It means you're headed for the private sector.

Thank you very much for inviting me. I would like to just make a few comments, hopefully to try and situate at least my personal views of some of the broad issues that we ought to be discussing as a community, as a people in Canada. In the context of official languages and taking the next steps towards using this historic, fundamental, chartered, constitutionalized (I'm inventing a new word) reality of bilingualism that has been with us from the beginning of the country, more specifically since 1969 in an official way at the federal level. How do we translate this into an asset for ourselves and for the economy of this country. How do we translate this into an asset that we can export in terms of the experience that we have been able to accumulate over the years?

I would just like to look back briefly on the role the Department of Canadian Heritage has played in the development and the promotion of bilingualism in Canada. I believe that knowing where we are coming from will allow us to better focus Canada's commercial efforts in language-related areas. And, as is the case for any major social objective a country may have, the perception of the official languages policy varies greatly. We saw this yesterday when we went with the Minister before Parliament's Standing Committee on Official Languages. One of the proposals we heard was to eliminate the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages. This goes to show that, although the reality of bilingualism is making progress, although many Canadians view it as a means of developing personally and collectively, there are some people and organizations who challenge certain elements of the policy.

What the Department of the Secretary State in the old days did, through the visionary leadership of the government of the day, was to establish programs that would permit the official-language communities of Canada to have the capacity and, more specifically, the Francophone minority in Canada, to have the capacity to identify its own needs and priorities, the idea being that it was a fundamental, historical fact and reality of Canada and they had to in French, we say "prendre leur place au soleil."

I am referring here to the late 1960s, when people — I am thinking here of people in Manitoba, my native province — got together in community centres or parish halls to ask themselves how they could go about obtaining permission from provincial authorities to teach French, if only for 30 minutes a day. There was an enormous amount of catching-up to do.

The vision that our political leaders had at the time, at the federal level, apparently lay in understanding that they had to support this process, politically and financially. This triggered real development within the communities. At that time, great emphasis was placed on education, which remains a fundamental issue for official-language minorities, and for Canada's Francophone minorities in particular.

These communities began to develop, they learned to express themselves, they learned to represent their own interests, they pressed for their needs more aggressively with the federal and provincial governments and with municipal authorities. This resulted in advances in at least two major sectors: education and culture. Statistics Canada just recently reported that progress has been made in these fields. Francophones outside Quebec are now in a better position to participate in the country's overall life and contribute to its economic life. We also wanted to see the communities acquire the ability to manage their institutions.

Little by little, the communities have developed to the point where we now have to adopt different approaches, both toward the official-language communities and toward the majority communities and their institutions. We must therefore draw up and promote agreements with these communities.

Twenty years ago, when I was involved as a volunteer in Manitoba, I can tell you that we were far from being able to take the kind of action that the communities are now able to take, in terms of setting their own priorities and implementing them, and mobilizing the energy within their communities. We have made enormous progress. We must make sure that these communities are now capable of contributing in their own right to the national economy.

And this is where, having done that kind of progress over the years, the federal government, during the summer of 1994, chose to give an instrument of strength to assure the implementation of articles 41 and 42 of the *Official Languages Act*, which commit the federal government and its institutions and departments to provide, plan and be cognizant in all of its programs, to be attentive and to plan the development of the official-language communities. We have moved from emphasis only on service: we are not talking service to communities, which of course is still a commitment under the *Official Languages Act*. We are now talking of the federal government having the full responsibility in all its programs when they adapt them, adjust them, reduce them as we do nowadays, to consider as one factor the development of those communities, the official-language communities in Canada.

To me, and that's what I'm leaving for your discussion, the fact that the federal government asked 26 departments and institutions to present plans on a yearly basis, and to report to Parliament, through the Department of Canadian Heritage showed the maturity of those communities. It also indicated that this country is ready to move to a different level of not only tolerating, trying to understand bilingualism, but to also accept the full contributions of those communities to use this specific official bilingualism which is an element of diversity. Canada can draw from its acquired experience in this area and offer specialized services in international markets.

This brings to mind the example provided by the Department of Human Resources Development, with its labour force training project. It will be concerned with ensuring that Francophones outside Quebec, and Anglophones in Quebec, are prepared to take up the new challenges in these fields.

Finally, we should add that, on the Information Highway, having two official languages gives us an edge that many other countries do not enjoy. We can develop our expertise in terms of linguistic services through the Translation Bureau. As far away as Korea and China, there is interest in our experience in language teaching. We will need your help to explore this dimension.

From now on, this is how we must use the realities and accomplishments of our bilingualism. With the co-operation of other departments, we want to find paths, suggestions to develop new avenues: to profit from the benefits to build a future based on openess, expansion and the spreading of our knowledge. I thank you for your co-operation. We are going to listen to and pursue some of your recommendations.

Ned Ellis

Thank you, Roger. Perhaps a measure of the progress that we've made over the 20 years since you were a small child, doing volunteer work in Manitoba, is the fact that there are not many people in this room with simultaneous translation headphones on. I think probably 20 years ago that would have been an entirely different situation. It's nice to see. We're at least passively bilingual, a great number of us.

As Roger said, social considerations will always remain central to our concerns at the Department of Canadian Heritage, but economic considerations will become much more important. For us, this is an opportunity that we intend to exploit fully. That is why we have organized this colloquium.

This is a roundtable; there are excellent presentations and they will certainly stimulate discussion. But the objective of the day is the discussion and not the presentations themselves. We are seriously and honestly looking for guidance, for new ideas, for new ways to go. We are living in a world of change; in the areas that you com from you are aware that things are changing rapidly; the status quo is no longer good enough, the status quo thinking is no longer acceptable.

There are four sessions during the day. In the first session there will be three presentations on the international aspect of official languages and the economy. After these three presentations, we will have a short discussion session and a break. The second session, with three presentations on the national economy and official languages followed by a discussion, will take place before lunch. We will now

begin with the international perspective. We are honoured to have with us today François Grin. A Ph.D. in economics, he has taught at universities in Montreal, Seattle and Geneva. He is currently assistant research professor for the *Fonds national suisse de la recherche scientifique* in the Department of political economy of the University of Geneva.

His works are concerned mainly with the economic analysis of language and with linguistic policies respecting education and multiculturalism. He is the author of some 50 publications in these areas. Professor Grin will share with us the fruits of his European experience.

François Grin

Thank you very much. I noticed that every single person so far had used two languages in his or her presentation. What I intend to do, however, is to speak only French and thereby conform to the Swiss practice: everybody speaks his or her own language and expects to be understood, and hopefully is understood by members from other language communities. Nevertheless, it is my pleasure to use English, the other official language of Canada, to express my thanks for this invitation. I'm very glad to be here and I think the topic of our meeting is not only an interesting one, but also extremely socially and politically relevant.

I am very pleased to be here and to express my point of view as a European. At the very beginning of the session, it was pointed out that there are people here from every region of Canada. Perhaps Switzerland has become a new Canadian colony, which would naturally be an honour for us, but it might pose a political problem to actually accept this new status.

Since I have relatively little time available to me, I will restrict myself to describing broadly the main characteristics of European research on the economics of language and attempting to determine whether there are things in this experience, in these works, that can be useful in terms of Canadian experience and practice.

The economics of language is an emerging field in Europe because, historically, aside from two or three American works, the lead in this area of research indisputably belongs to Canada. However, in what has been done in Europe, there are two or three works that may be of some interest to Canada.

What is happening in Europe, aside from research of an academic nature, is that increasing numbers of different agencies, which may be national, supra-national or in the private sector, are beginning to take an interest in the subject of 'language and economics' and perhaps to contribute to the emergence of a demand for research in this area. I will also attempt briefly to report on this.

Let us begin by defining the scope of what I wish to say by giving a definition of the economics of language. The following is a definition that covers the field quite amply: the economics of language falls within the paradigm of theoretical economics, that is to say, it refers to an entity existing on a theoretical level and it applies the usual concepts and tools of economics to the study of relationships where linguistic variables appear.

In this sense, we will be interested principally, but not exclusively, in relationships in which economic variables play a role. This does not mean that we necessarily need economic variables in order to talk about the economics of language. Why not? Because it is in fact a definition in which economics is characterized less by the topics with which it deals than by a certain way of looking at things, an economic way of looking at all sorts of relationships in which language plays a part. Sometimes the economic variables are explicitly present, sometimes not, but I believe that in either case we are dealing with the economics of language.

According to this definition, therefore, the economics of language may be interested in the impact of linguistic variables on economic variables. For example, how does language have an impact in determining labour earnings? It may also, however, be interested in the inverse relationship; for example, how will the intensification of international trade affect the spread or decline of various languages?

A final clarification before coming to the essence of the topic: when I refer to European research, I am using a geographical criterion. The Europe of which I speak here is not restricted to the 15 current member states of the European Union, but includes the entire continent, including the British Isles, Switzerland and two or three other countries which, at present, do not belong to the European Union.

I have attempted to organize my paper by themes. I do not know whether or not this is a good idea, since there are so few people working on the subject among us, far fewer than here. It would be possible to make a survey by author. But the advantage of doing so by theme is that this permits a better comparison with what is being done in North America. I have therefore chosen five major themes, five families of research, for comparison with Canadian work.

First aspect: empirical analysis of the relationship between language and labour earnings. This is essentially a Canadian, and to some extent, also an American speciality. In Europe, on the other hand, it does not constitute the core of the research. In my opinion, there are two types of research. There is one work that appeared barely a year ago on the economic integration of immigrants in Germany. That is, I believe, the only one that has been published to date.

For my part, I have been working for nearly a year with a new database on labour earnings and competence in non-mother-tongue languages in Switzerland. The aim,

essentially, is to see how knowledge of another official language or knowledge of English—which for us is neither official nor national—may have an impact on labour earnings. This provides an opportunity to look for data and break them down in quite an innovative way because levels of skill are taken into account and differentiated in terms of oral or written, active or passive skills before they are related to earnings.

This makes it possible to see quite far—at least we hope so, for we have just begun—into the structure of earnings and to understand how linguistic skills have an impact on them.

That is the first area of research. The second, which I believe is relatively more active in Europe, involves everything concerning the spread, survival and decline of languages. This is a relatively important line of research since it has been inspired by the growing political role played by the so-called "lesser used languages," to use the EC jargon; one does not say "minority languages" because the word is too politically loaded to handle; one therefore says "lesser-used languages."

These are languages such as Breton, Basque, Welsh, Catalan, etc. There are two or three works that attempt, theoretically, to determine how one can say economically what influences the use of these languages and their survival or decline in the medium term. There are theoretical models inspired by Becker that make it possible in some cases to highlight the importance of survival thresholds.

First of all, do these thresholds exist or not? It is often said that it requires a certain percentage of speakers for a minority language to survive. In my opinion, this is a little too simple; one can indeed speak of survival thresholds, provided that they are regarded as multidimensional concepts. A number of variables must be taken into consideration simultaneously.

This type of model, combined with a Canadian work—an article by Carr dating from 1985—allows us to make some hypothetical predictions about the impact the growing integration of the European economy may have on conditions more or less favourable to the survival of minority languages—not on the minority languages themselves, but on the more or less favourable or difficult conditions they will have to face.

The third area is somewhat more heterogeneous: languages and economic activity. Two levels can be defined, beginning with a somewhat more "macro" perspective. Here, there are two or three works concerning Ireland and Scotland (once again, minority issues). They seek to determine the extent to which the sums spent to preserve languages such as Scottish Gaelic contribute to the vitality of the local economic fabric.

The results are quite interesting. There are multipliers of greater than two, in terms of product/income, that is, for every British pound spent to preserve Gaelic, an amount of 2.20 pounds is generated in the form of product/income. There is also a job multiplier in the order of 1.57, etc. Naturally, this would have to be compared with other multipliers to determine whether this is an economically convincing argument.

Aside from these "macro"-type works, there are somewhat more specific works concerning slightly more limited questions, such as the communication between firms and their markets through advertising: under what conditions will it be in the interest of a firm that operates in a bilingual market—this might be Montreal, with English and French, or Barcelona, with Spanish and Catalan, or New York, with English and Spanish—to switch from unilingual advertising in the majority language to bilingual advertising that would be visible to both groups at the same time, with all the problems this poses in terms of attitudes and the respective levels of purchasing power of the different communities?

There are also two or three very recent Dutch works on the factors affecting the decision by firms to locate in a minority-language region. Is the fact that people speak a minority language an argument that can encourage a firm to locate there, or is it rather an irritant, as one would say in Canada? The results are not abundant enough, or conclusive enough, to point in one direction or the other in this regard.

The fourth aspect of European research is essentially represented by a Catalan, Professor Colomer, who is actually a political scientist but does a great deal of work in game theory and thus enters the sphere of the economics of language. He formalizes the process that determines the language in which a conversation between persons with different mother tongues may take place, taking into account, in addition, various social norms that apply to this type of communication. He also seeks to determine the impact that these various norms may have on whether or not segregation occurs between speakers of different languages. It is quite a complex study of interpersonal communications.

More recently, in a paper that is as yet unpublished, Colomer has developed a model in which he compares the social efficiency of the plurilingualism of individuals in a plurilingual society—plurilingualism acquired through education and very extensive second or third language instruction systems—with another solution, namely, the generalized resort to translation services, as much as possible, in all situations where members of two different linguistic communities might encounter one another.

This is necessarily a highly theoretical model because it is a very general issue, but he reaches an extremely interesting conclusion that is worth emphasizing. As long as a state, a community or a supra-national entity does not have more than five

different linguistic communities, the generalized teaching of a second language—one second language, no more—is more efficient, economically speaking, than the development of generalized translation services.

This result continues to hold true beyond ten different languages, and therefore in a community with more than ten languages, as is presently the case in the European Union, if each resident learns not one second language, but two languages in addition to his mother tongue.

Fifth area of research: choice, development and evaluation of language policies. The very first document in this area is very old, since it dates back to 1971. It is the work of a Swede, Thomas Thorburn, and was published in a collective work on socio-linguistics. He discusses the possibility of applying cost-benefit analysis to language policy. He simply points out that the major problem is putting a figure to the costs and, even more, the benefits.

In my opinion, it is not only calculating the figures, but also identifying the costs and benefits that pose very major theoretical problems. Elsewhere, I proposed taking the assumptions of environmental economic theory—in which there are tools for evaluating complex assets—and transposing them, under certain conditions, to language policy.

What are the characteristics of these five research areas, compared with Canadian work? There are five main features. First, in Europe there are very few of us—three or four at the very most—far fewer than here.

Second, I would say that European research is somewhat more scattered or less monolithic, in the sense that it goes in different directions, whereas in North America preponderant weight is given to a particular type of research: the relationship between linguistic skills and labour earnings.

Third difference: minority issues are far more significant in Europe, no doubt because of the cultural and political weight of the traditional minority communities. In this regard, the absence of North American research in the economics of language on the conditions for the survival or decline of Aboriginal languages is quite striking to me. There lies a topic for investigation, because it would be fascinating and, I believe, quite relevant socially and politically.

Fourth difference: immigration issues are practically unknown at present in the economics of language in Europe. There is a great deal of material on immigration in political science and sociology, but in our field right now, on immigration, nothing at all, whereas this is the principal aspect of the research being done in the United States.

Fifth and final major difference in my opinion: whereas Canadian and American research in general considers that the variable to be explained is economic in nature—how language has an impact on an economic variable—in Europe, it is often the reverse. Often the object is to see how economic variables have an impact on linguistic variables and on what I call a "linguistic environment."

A linguistic environment is a set of characteristics that result in the fact that one is in a more or less bilingual, more or less plurilingual environment, where individuals have a greater or lesser degree of competence in a second language, where languages have a more or less recognized status, which may differ with the region and which is adjusted so as to advantage threatened languages, etc.

Time is getting on. We can return to this in the course of the discussion. I would just like to highlight certain avenues of research and point out a few directions that might be of some interest to Canada.

I wish, however, to emphasize the issue of Aboriginal languages and to speak about the problem of conciliation mechanisms with respect to the language rights of different communities in plurilingual entities. A very important problem in Europe which was mentioned by Mr. Karim is the respective role of the various official languages in the European Union. For essentially political reasons, this is a topic that is still taboo. There are urgent needs, and I think that Canadian researchers could use their very extensive experience and their independence from the European institutional context to advance thinking on this topic. This requires distancing oneself somewhat from the Quebec-Canada frame of reference, which does not apply to Europe.

For some time we have been seeing all sorts of very encouraging developments in the economics of language as a research area. I believe that the holding of today's colloquium illustrates this very eloquently. Thank you for your attention.

Ned Ellis

Thank you very much for that excellent presentation; while you were complimenting Canadian researchers which we appreciate a great deal, at the same time, I think you reminded us how fragile the economic analysis is everywhere in the world in this area. You also reminded us, and I think this is important, of some of the economic analysis tools that can be used in this area, and the fact that we, in Canada, tend to concentrate on a few areas and perhaps have not explored others. In particular, you talked about the techniques which are available for quantifying social benefits. There have been some very exciting developments in this field, some of which have even been used, particularly in the environmental area. So we thank you very, very much for your presentation: I think it has given us a much broader perspective than we might have had if you were not here.

We're also extremely pleased and honoured to have Albert Breton with us. Many of you will be familiar with his career and accomplishments in Canada and abroad. However, I will run through a few highlights for you. He received his B.A. from le Collège de Saint-Boniface of Manitoba and received his Ph.D. in economics from Columbia University. He has taught virtually everywhere in the world, Université de Montréal, Carleton, Université Catholique de Louvain, London School of Economics, Harvard, Université de Paris, Institut des Sciences Politiques de Paris, and he is currently with the University of Toronto. He is the author of an unbelievable number of books and articles on questions of economic theory, policy and measurement. Professor Breton is, however, also uniquely qualified on this particular subject. He was vice-chairman of the Applebaum-Hébert Commission on federal cultural policy, a commission which certainly, I believe, changed the way that the old Department of Communications approached its business. He was also a member of the Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada, better known as the Macdonald Commission. He has also served on the Board of Governors of the National Theatre School and on the Canadian Economic Policy Committee of C.D. Howe. He is a fellow of the Royal Society of Canada and an officer of the Order of Canada. As well, he is past president of the Canadian Economic Association. Professor Breton.

Albert Breton

Thank you for your kind introduction. I also wish to thank you for inviting me to participate in this colloquium. From 1975 to 1978, I worked on language issues with Peter Mieszkowski of the University of Houston.

On receiving this invitation, I returned to the issue of bilingualism and reread the old paper that I wrote with Mieszkowski in 1975 and published in 1977. This paper still does not seem so bad to me today—a little too difficult, perhaps, but a paper in which we set out a whole series of propositions that, in my view, are still correct.

What we did almost exclusively was to apply one aspect of international trade theory to the problem of languages, essentially by treating language as a barrier to communication, just as distance is a barrier to international trade. We made applications, derived from theorems, to determine who bears the cost of bilingualism. I summarize some of these in the paper I prepared for this colloquium.

I take as my point of departure here the paper that I wrote, but I will also make some comments not included in that text because you are always free to read my paper.

In my paper, I begin with something that is more implicit than explicit and that seems more and more real to me as I rediscover my interest in language issues.

What seems increasingly important to me is to distinguish very clearly between private bilingualism and social bilingualism.

Private bilingualism is a decision by individuals about learning a second or third language. It is also related to investments in the mother tongue. The concept of a mother tongue as something one receives from one's mother is clearly one of the most fundamental errors there is.

I am currently completing a lengthy book which is in the hands of a copy editor and will be published this fall by Cambridge University Press. The copy editor is a person who knows the English language incredibly well: its grammar, syntax, use of terms. She sends me letters. It is a joy to work with her. Frankly, she is improving my book, and I am wondering, along with my publisher, whether I ought not to thank her officially, because she will have made a noteworthy contribution to my book. She works in her mother tongue and is unilingual. She has invested a great deal in her mother tongue.

The problem of languages does not have to do only with second languages. This morning, however, I will be speaking only about second languages.

I believe there is some agreement—albeit not complete—among certain specialists such as Professor Grin, François Vaillancourt and others who have written and are present here. They would agree in saying that the learning of a second language can be treated as the acquisition of a form of human capital. It is a form of human capital just as health is a form of human capital, which one can increase or diminish. Education, which one can increase, is another form of human capital. A language is a form of human capital.

As Professor Grin pointed out, there are enormous problems in determining the costs of this investment and the associated benefits. As Mr. Karim said, it is necessary to distinguish between the cultural aspect and the economic aspect, but we must also find a way to build a bridge between the two, because, for an economist, there is nothing that cannot be converted into monetary units. If you deny the possibility of conversion into monetary units, you deny the possibility of constructing a theory that has truly verifiable implications. What is known as 'marginal utility,' for example, is easy to translate into monetary units. But it is not something you can eat with your breakfast toast.

Regarding the cost of investments in human capital, I believe that we know a whole series of things. Vaillancourt speaks about them in his paper, as I do in mine. I want to emphasize one thing I speak about in mine that is very important: the social context.

When I was a little boy in Manitoba, I was told, when I was talking to my brother, "Speak white," which meant, "Speak the language of white males." In such a context it is virtually impossible for Anglophones to learn French because the psychological costs, the resources that have to be mobilized to overcome that barrier, are so exorbitant that you can give courses in the schools, you can do all you want, but people will not learn French in such a social climate.

When a language is held to be inferior, spoken by people regarded as inferior, it is virtually impossible to learn the language so defined. This whole phenomenon, which may be called xenophobia, is a dreadful barrier and must be considered a cost in learning a second language.

In Canada, we provide grants in many cases to reduce this type of cost. This has to do with the question of social bilingualism.

The benefits of investment in bilingualism are essentially economic and cultural in nature. In the paper that I wrote with Peter Mieszkowski in 1977, we say that the yield on a second language is essentially an increase in the gross national product, an increase in productivity through the specialization thereby made possible. I believe that there is work to be done on this type of benefit, but we already know some things about it.

I do not think there has been enough work done on the costs, investments and benefits. There are many things I have not read, but there has not been enough work on the impact of costs. Who pays the costs of bilingualism and who reaps the benefits?

Let us take the case of Canada. In our article, Mieszkowski and I show that it is always the smaller group—if it is small enough and there is perfect competition—it is the minorities who pay the cost of the second language. In full. To the limit, in full.

In the paper I prepared for this colloquium, I speak of Canada's official languages as being a way of changing the incidence of costs, of reducing the cost of bilingualism for Francophones and increasing it for Anglophones. Going from private bilingualism to social bilingualism raises a problem. In the paper I wrote for this colloquium (and in the one I wrote with Mieszkowski), I stress the necessity of the concept of *lingua franca*.

It is virtually impossible to understand the costs and especially the benefits of bilingualism if you do not understand the role of a *lingua franca*. Without using the term, Professor Grin spoke of it this morning.

There are concepts in the literature related to the concept of *lingua franca*, but not completely. In this regard, too, in my opinion, there are some extremely difficult problems to be resolved—theoretical problems. There is the paper to which Professor Grin referred, written by my colleague Jack Carr in 1976, I believe, and published by François Vaillancourt in 1985, dealing with the majority language as a natural monopoly.

I am not at all sure that that is true. I am not at all sure that Italian, which is certainly the majority language in Italy, is a natural monopoly. The Italian government continues to allocate enormous resources to promote Italian in Italy. That is done to counter the excessive use of dialects.

I do not see the emergence of a natural monopoly by one language in the Indies. Another concept that brings us to the social dimension is the one that people in games theory call "network externalities."

In a paper by Church and King that appeared in the *Canadian Journal of Economics* in May 1993, the basic hypothesis used for speaking of network externalities is that the usefulness that I derive from a language increases whenever I can communicate with one additional individual. That is a network externality. For me, it is far from clear that whenever I can communicate with one additional individual, I feel better. In many cases, I feel much worse.

In the case of social bilingualism, the objective surely will be, as Professor Grin pointed out, to minimize costs. There is absolutely no wish for everyone to become bilingual. I say in my paper that, most likely, sometimes the demand side will call for bilingualism, and sometimes the supply side.

On the labour market, it is surely the demand side that will prevail. It is no doubt employers that must be bilingual; there is no need to require that employees be bilingual. Communication can take place, and it will be socially more efficient if employers are bilingual. From this point of view, Quebec's Bill 101, which requires that employers become bilingual, is a socially efficient law, in terms of bilingualism policy.

If we turn to the ordinary goods and services market, I believe that bilingualism must be on the supply side. I am returning from the United States, where I spent four months. What struck me is the number of companies that sell on world markets (many of them sell in Canada) whose labels are bilingual—bilingual in the United States, not because Americans speak French (very few do), but because they put bilingual labels on their products and sell them that way. Why? Because it costs nothing. It takes a particularly obtuse person to refuse to purchase a product because there is a word in French on the label. It is certainly efficient, since the unit costs must be very low, and it has no impact on people who do not want to read

the French and allows you to penetrate all markets. That is an example of bilingualism on the supply side.

This will vary from one sector to another. I think we will need many models to understand social bilingualism, because there will be no single theory of social bilingualism. There will not be one theorem that tells us that everyone must become bilingual. The social dimension is the one on which the least work has been done. Thank you.

Ned Ellis

Thank you very much for providing us with not only a paper, but a discussion which departed from and added greatly to what you put in the written word, and providing us quite frankly as you always do with a little new and original perspective that we might not have thought of otherwise.

At this time we will open the stage for discussion. We encourage not only the people at the centre table but also the others in the room to express comments and questions on the subject.

Jean Fahmy

I would like to provide some information and make an observation. My information relates to the reference made by Professor Grin to a study done by a Catalan professor named Colomer on the conditions governing the use of one language or another in interpersonal communications. I would like to bring to Professor Grin's attention, and that of those present, that this is a subject that concerned us at the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, to which I belong.

We conducted a study last year to determine what psychological or other factors cause two, three or four employees who speak English and French to decide to converse, in an unstructured or semi-structured situation in the federal public service, in English or in French.

We conducted this study within the federal public service in Ottawa and in Montreal. I do not know Professor Colomer, and thus am not familiar with the results of his studies. But I think it will not surprise anyone that our study showed that the research bears out common sense: because of the psychological aspect, groups in a minority situation have a much greater tendency to speak the majority language.

My observation is as follows. I seemed to hear this morning, in a number of remarks, the implicit assumption that bilingualism in Canada is an asset in terms of international economics, that is, in terms of our international trade.

I would like to believe that is true at the conceptual level, but I wonder, first, if we have ever measured it. Second, I pose the question: if it is to be an asset to Canada's international trade, must the people who engage in this international trade—Canada's businessmen and women—be aware that it is an asset; that they make use of it internationally; that Canada is associated, in international trade circles, with the existence of two languages that can be used? I believe that we are far from that. I believe that there is no proof that English and French are actually used in a conscious and determined way by Canada's business people to promote our country's international trade.

Ned Ellis

Thank you very much. May I ask people to introduce themselves one more time, just before they speak. Thank you.

George J. De Benedetti

Thank you. I am George De Benedetti from Mount Allison University. Just on that point—when you are looking for the economic benefits we get from exporters using both languages—there is another facet, and that is something that Albert Breton is talking about: it is overcoming transactions' costs. In a trade study we did in the Atlantic provinces, we discovered that Canadian exporters, because they have to deal within Canada in both languages, are less inhibited from exploring new markets. For example, with NAFTA, many Mexicans are not bilingual and they will have to overcome certain psychological barriers to penetrate Canadian and American markets. In Canada, because we are used to dealing in two languages, we are less inhibited from exploring new markets. So there is that dimension that should not be overlooked. In other words, just looking for the growth in exports may be an indicator, but I think what is important is the attitude toward exporting which can be affected because we deal in two languages.

Vicky Bedros

I will introduce myself briefly, just to explain my presence here. I head a publishing agency in Toronto and also represent the *Chambre de commerce française de Toronto*, which is an association of Canadian and French business people.

We are currently developing an annual reference work. It is a bilingual business guide, that is to say, a guide that will list firms that provide services in both official languages. That is a first in the private sector in Canada.

I am very interested in what is being said here, because I am receiving a tremendous amount of information, although I am still a little unsatisfied, particularly in the case of Mr. Grin, because he covered his very interesting ideas a little quickly.

I would like, in fact, to return to what Mr. Breton said about the logic of the market, namely, that, in the case of bilingualism, it is a logic of supply, while the labour market is a logic of demand. Here I ask myself a question: business is based on quite a rational and economic logic. I wonder why certain businesses you refer to, which are American and export to Canada, have bilingual labels, even in the United States.

There must be another reason, in my opinion, than simply the logic of supply. From what I see in the field, from my contacts with business people in chambers of commerce, the logic in fact is a logic of demand, that is, the logic of a clientele that asks to be served in both languages or in its minority language.

In the case of Toronto, since I am there and Toronto is quite a, shall we say, symbolic city in this regard, because more and more firms are becoming bilingual, you have only to open the *Globe and Mail* to see the number of openings there are for bilingual staff. There is primarily a logic of demand on the part of the clientele.

We did a survey of 2,000 firms, not only in Toronto but at the national level, that represent every activity. It is a questionnaire that will enable us to see how this bilingual policy operates in a firm with a purely and rigorously economic logic. First of all, there is a logic of costs and benefits and, hence, these firms, in a period of crisis, will not adopt bilingualism unless it does something for them.

I am speaking about my personal experience. When I started my business, right away, it was a bilingual firm, that is, all the communications tools and documents were in both official languages. That costs me, obviously; it costs me in terms of staff, but it pays off at the same time. It's true that it is difficult to put figures to it at present, but we are counting a great deal on this questionnaire and we will have the results by September. That will enable us to take a closer look at what is happening within firms.

I don't want to monopolize the floor, but there is also Mr. De Benedetti's comment to the effect that it makes Canadians less hesitant to tackle foreign markets. I don't really agree. I do not think that it is either an inhibiting or a favourable factor. Tackling markets—the Americans do it, the Europeans do it—that is not simply due to a linguistic factor. It is a temperament or an economic context.

George J. De Benedetti

I guess I will reply. Certainly, large firms such as the multinationals are not inhibited. But I guess my comments were more apt for small- and medium-sized firms. If they are already used to dealing in a second language, then they are less inhibited about trying new markets. This does not apply to big firms like General Motors, etc., who are used to doing that, but I am speaking, you know, about smaller firms.

Noël Thomas

I am President of the tiny Franco-Ontarian company that developed the *Village électronique*, a pan-Canadian communications network. In support of the remarks of several speakers, I wish to say that our experience, because we have developed things in French, has attracted a large English-speaking clientele to us, which is quite strange, because we had developed our software with accents. French is approximately 20 per cent longer than English; thus, going from French to English is relatively simple in terms of displaying the screen page, compared to the reverse. Because the structure was conceived bilingually, therefore, let's put in the hooks that allow it to be multilingual. Since we did it in French first, our products are meeting with success nationally, in both languages.

Now we are being wooed by the European markets to make versions in other languages, since we have already solved the problems of accents, of the screen display and of the basic concept, whereby the product is multilingual from the start. Having done things in that way puts us in a position to accept the demand.

Second observation, with reference to Mr. Collet's comment about a sort of turnaround in the government's orientation: as a small business, I find that refreshing. I don't know what tangible form that will take in the long term, or what impact it might have. But what I see and find encouraging is that we are going from the state as milch cow, giving money, to the state as nurturer, giving direction to our thinking, somewhat as is being done here today. In that sense, I believe it is promising and encouraging.

Ned Ellis

Thank you very much. Comments?

Gilles Grenier

I would like to make a comment on François Grin's presentation. First, I find that François is very modest in saying that more research on the economics of language

is done in North America than in Europe. There are three pages of bibliography in his paper. Perhaps more is being done there than here, in fact.

It is interesting that different things are done in Europe in the area of the economics of language. There may be things in which there is little interest in Europe which would be interesting here—perhaps they are a little too political—such as the territorial bilingualism that exists in Switzerland and Belgium, compared to Canadian bilingualism, which is not territorial, in the sense that there is no territory that is officially French-speaking as opposed to another that is officially English-speaking.

What are the advantages and disadvantages of these two forms of bilingualism? I think it would be interesting to do comparative studies. There is also the question of the national languages of small countries in Europe. Europe is far more diversified linguistically than North America. There are certain countries whose language is very strong, such as Germany and France. But there are also small countries like Finland and Sweden, Greece and Portugal, which speak their national language but which must also be bilingual in order to communicate with the others. It would be interesting to see how these countries manage to preserve their language. We must see whether possession of a national territory is sufficient to preserve a language.

François Grin

Thank you, Gilles, for those kind words. I am quite overwhelmed. I was very interested to hear about this study by the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages. Not only would I be interested in having a copy of it, but I am sure that Mr. Colomer, from Barcelona, would be very interested in these results. The same goes, moreover, for the survey done in Toronto. I would be very curious to see the results of this survey as soon as they are available.

Regarding bilingualism as an asset to international trade, I do not know to what extent Canadians are always fully aware of the value of their image abroad. The great value of Canada, one of its selling points in fact, is that it is *not* the United States. And not being the United States does not necessarily mean refusing to speak English. It means: 'We are defined by the fact of being bilingual.' It is an idea that is not in fashion everywhere, but again I refer to the case of Switzerland. Even if a Swiss does not speak the other national languages, those languages are part of his identity, not collective but individual identity. For my part, whether or not I speak Italian or Romansch, that is part of my individual identity, which I also project in my relationships abroad.

I think that that makes a Canadian someone different from an American. Opposite a trading partner from abroad, I believe that is a selling point. It is really a question

of image, at least as much as a question of communications and transaction costs. In terms of transaction costs, that has an influence, even if English is the language in which a deal will be made. Often, French is the language in which the ground is prepared. That can make the small difference—sometimes marginal—but I think that the marginal is not to be neglected in an extremely competitive international context. An image is something very real, in the end. I believe it is important in this trading context.

Regarding the two points raised by Professor Grenier, let us say that territorial bilingualism always exists, in the sense that any language policy is the result of a decision by a state or local public community which has jurisdiction over a given territory. Hence, any language policy is necessarily territorial, in one way or another. I believe that the question of territoriality then arises only in terms of what is done with it.

Our territoriality in Switzerland is very strict, which results in praise from some and criticism from others. I believe all sorts of different systems of territoriality can be imagined. Moreover, when I write about the subject, this is what I generally say. That territoriality must generally be adjusted to compensate for the inequalities in the status of the different languages. I think this is feasible. I think that what burdens this concept is that there are traditions of all kinds, as we discussed five years ago with Professor Vaillancourt, and as a result it is not immediately transposable. Nevertheless, it can be very stimulating to think about that.

Finally, regarding the national language of small countries, you mentioned Finland, Sweden, Greece and Portugal. Portugal is the only country regarded as being officially unilingual by the European Community. All the other countries are at least bilingual or plurilingual — Finland because there is a Swedish minority; Sweden because there is the Sami (Lapp) minority in the northern part of the country, which has certain rights. Greece regards itself as unilingual, but is alone in doing so; no one else agrees on this point.

A comparison of practices would be interesting. I believe, moreover, that relatively little has been done in that regard. There are descriptives, but in terms of them, there is nothing that would lend itself to comparisons. I think that's a good idea.

Ned Ellis

Thank you. Just before a well-deserved break, I give the last word to Professor Breton.

Albert Breton

On the question of the relationship between bilingualism or learning of a second language and foreign trade, I would like to say that, if you start from international trade theory, the most basic thing is that if bilingualism leads to more internal commerce in Canada and, therefore, to more specialisation we will open up bigger markets inside Canada and, therefore, reduce our costs. As a consequence, we will be able to export more. But that will not be the direct impact of the fact that we are bilingual; that will be the fact that bilingualism has forced us to specialise. Whether that's an important phenomenon or not is an empirical question.

Clearly the most important place to start in terms of looking at the impact of second languages on international commerce is to look at the extent to which bilingualism has permitted further specialisation, exploitation of economies of scale, things of that kind, in sectors like banking, communication, electronics, building of software, computers, etc. Anglophones and Francophones work more together and are able to communicate, we do not have markets broken with barriers, and that we are able to specialise. It is very difficult to measure quantitatively the impact of bilingualism on foreign trade, because you have to model how the economy works and look at whether it has led to genuine specialisation and to the exploitation of economies of scale.

Ned Ellis

It is a pleasure to have Ghislain Savoie among us. An Acadian by birth, Ghislain Savoie has attended the University of Moncton, the University of Ottawa and Carleton University. He has also studied abroad. He has taught international relations at the University of Moncton and the University of Ottawa, and worked for the Canadian Federation for the Humanities before joining the Department of Communications. He currently holds the position of head of social research with the Research Directorate of the Department of Canadian Heritage.

Ghislain Savoie

I am a specialist in social research in general and my interest in the issue of the links between language and economics is quite recent. My curiosity was aroused by a television broadcast on second-language immersion which involved interviews with prospective students in various locations in Canada. They stated why they had decided to register, or why their parents had decided to register them, in second-language immersion.

I was struck by the consistency of answers citing economic reasons. Most of them were signing up to find a job or find a better job. As second or third answers, they also mentioned cultural reasons, patriotic grounds, and other factors.

But what really struck me was the fact that most of the respondents gave economic reasons. With the amount of time that has passed—immersion programs have been around for twenty-five years—I asked myself if these individuals who hoped to enter the job market more easily had succeeded. This is what aroused my curiosity and prompted me to conduct research in this field.

Here is an overview of the issue. From the individual's point of view, there are two aspects of the economics-language link that have been studied in Canada: income and access to the job market. I focused my investigations on this area and would like to bring my findings to your attention. A little later, time permitting, I will take a look at the extent to which the structural changes currently occurring could in one way or another influence the employment opportunities of bilingual people in the job market. I would also like to address the matter of *lingua franca* that was raised this morning.

To try to establish a link between language and economics, in Canada, researchers have mainly studied income from employment. Mr. Vaillancourt may be considered a trail blazer in this type of research. But I am not going to spend a long time on this aspect because others will deal with it here—Mr. Vaillancourt, Mr. Grenier and Mr. Chorney come to mind. I am going to cover this issue a little more quickly to delve more fully into the issue of access to the job market.

Language is an investment in human capital. When we talk about investment, we must expect it will pay dividends, and that is what these researchers have tried to show. Are there in fact dividends to be reaped from being bilingual in the job market?

I think it can be concluded rather generally that the fact of being bilingual carries with it a monetary benefit in the job market. I would further qualify this statement with a number of variables, such as where in Canada the bilingual person lives. Even within Quebec, the situation is not the same in Montreal as it is elsewhere. The issue should also be analysed in the light of factors such as sex or education. There are many variations when all these factors are taken into account. But, notwithstanding what I have just said, I believe that there is a definite advantage to being bilingual in the job market.

Let's take the case of Quebec to start. In general, it is an advantage, but we should note that, in the case of Montreal, the *Conseil de la langue française*, in yesterday's report covered in the newspapers, revealed that it is more advantageous for a Francophone to be bilingual than for an Anglophone, even if there has been some catching up over the years.

Here again, we do not have the details of the study; we do not know to what extent the figures take into account all the variables that I mentioned a little while ago:

area, age, sex, education, etc. It appears that in Montreal it is mainly an advantage for Francophones because the figures show that unilingual Anglophones, bilingual Anglophones and bilingual Francophones all earn 7 per cent more than unilingual Francophones. For Anglophones, the fact of being bilingual or not had no significance. It can therefore be concluded that, in Montreal, bilingualism is an advantage mainly for Francophones.

This is progress in relation to the situation twenty years ago, when Anglophones were at the top of the heap in nearly all the categories. There has been a lot of catching up. French has become much more important in Quebec and this might explain the extensive bilingualization of Quebec Anglophones: nearly 60 per cent of Quebec Anglophones are bilingual (a figure which surprises a lot of people), while only 32 per cent of Francophones say they are.

Studies were carried out mainly in Quebec in the 1970s and 1980s, probably because of what was going on in the province and the existentialist questions Quebecers were asking themselves. For the rest of Canada, studies showed that being bilingual was of rather limited benefit.

But it can be said today that there has been a lot of catching up. Figures published last year by Statistics Canada show that the gap between Francophones and Anglophones is shrinking almost everywhere in Canada, and that Francophones in several provinces even earn more than Anglophones, although that must be translated in terms of bilingualism. We still do not have figures showing income differences between bilinguals and non-bilinguals, but we know that studies are currently being conducted on the matter.

There you have a general overview of the link between bilingualism and employment income. As Mr. Grin and others have pointed out, this is the aspect that is most often studied in Canada. The explanation for this is perhaps that such studies are easier to carry out with the Statistics Canada databases.

The other major area in which bilingualism can provide an advantage is that of access to employment. When we talk about access to employment, we are talking about mobility. The bilingual person should in theory have better access to employment and be able to move around more easily, change jobs more easily.

This issue has received less study. We have found a few chapters here and there which dealt with it. For example, Mr. Vaillancourt has already published a rather brief, though informative, chapter on participation in the labour market according to linguistic attributes. He showed that bilinguals in Quebec, regardless of category, participate much more in the labour market than persons who are unilingual. Here again, there should be further study in order to determine if other factors help to

explain the phenomenon, such as the fact that bilingual people are generally more educated.

There have not been many in-depth studies on access to employment. In my opinion, the link between bilingualism and employment is more constant than the link between bilingualism and income. Let's take the following example: a waiter who wishes to sell his services on the market will have an advantage if he is bilingual. If he finds a job, that does not mean he will be paid extra for being bilingual. The advantage of being bilingual for the prospective employee is first and foremost being offered a job. This does not mean that there is no possibility of extra income for being bilingual. The waiter could increase his clientele; a clientele more satisfied with being served in its own language will tip more; at some point, the owner may need a maitre d'hôtel and the bilingual waiter might edge out the other hopefuls. There is reason to believe that a bilingual person will earn more money over the course of his career.

Bilingual people will have access to all the bilingual jobs advertised. Jobs calling for French only or English only will also be open to applicants who are proficient in both languages. We can take the hypothesis further and postulate that a bilingual applicant will have a better chance of obtaining a position which has no language requirement. Let me explain. An employer may be interested in hiring a bilingual person because the person's bilingualism shows determination, adaptability, and the capacity to learn new things, whatever they may be, not necessarily just languages.

What is interesting in the studies I have examined is that many people said that their experience in immersion made it easier for them to learn a third language or other disciplines. I quote a passage from the conclusion of a recent study: "Eighty-six per cent of students who elected to specialize in French said they were completely satisfied with their choice of discipline. They noted that their specialization had enabled them to develop skills in other disciplines, in addition to French culture and communications. Skills in critical thinking and creativity, leading to skills in informatics: adaptability, willingness to learn, organization and time management."

This is what students who specialized in French in the Toronto area had to say. I think it supports the theories—I believe Mr. Vaillancourt will talk about them in his presentation—according to which learning a second language helps to develop intelligence. Such learning can thus be considered an economic benefit to the individual, the employer and society.

I would go even further and say that people who choose to learn a second language are cleverer to begin with. Intellectual ability is needed to learn a second language, I presume, which is not to say, of course, that people who do not learn a second language are not intelligent. They may choose music, for instance, as a means of exercising their intelligence in another direction. Studies should probably be

conducted in this field to determine if there is a correlation between intellectual aptitudes and the ability to learn another language. It should also be determined whether bilingualism in fact helped to obtain a job or whether superior intellectual ability (better marks in school, better references) was the deciding factor.

Immersion has been going on in Canada for 25 years; large amounts of money have been spent. I assumed that government would have prepared in-depth assessments of immersion programs or that researchers would have conducted quite elaborate studies. Some studies certainly exist, but they are much less numerous than would be supposed. Their findings are quite encouraging.

Where studies have been conducted, there is evidence that immersion graduates have had doors opened to them in the job market. The outcome is conclusive and holds true even in Saskatchewan, where the demand for bilingual employees is surely not as strong as it is elsewhere. But scarcity makes them a sought-after commodity. Other types of study could be conducted in the field, such as surveys of employers. In this regard, Mr. Chorney has completed a study he will surely tell us about. It would also be a good idea to carry out studies on unemployment, which might reveal that bilingual unemployed people are unemployed for shorter periods than others.

The question that could be asked is: how much and in what way is this situation changing? Have reservations, the wall Mr. Breton talked about, been overcome? Are things getting better? Are job opportunities improving? I personally think the answer is yes, and I think that Moncton can be given as an example.

Let us recall the 1960s and 1970s. This was the time of Mayor Jones (I, too, often heard the words 'speak white'). Mayor Jones ran for federal election, as a Conservative, on a blatantly anti-bilingualism platform. He was so radical that the party leader, Robert Stanfield, rejected his candidacy. He had to run as an independent candidate. He was elected in his riding all the same, one in which nearly 30 per cent of voters were Francophones.

At about the same time in Manitoba, James Richardson—the only Trudeau Cabinet minister west of Ontario—resigned on the bilingualism issue, in 1976. He, too, believed he was respecting the anti-bilingualism views of his constituents. He was so convinced of this that he was prompted to resign from the Cabinet of Prime Minister Trudeau, the father of the *Official Languages Act*.

What is the situation today in these two parts of the country? Have things changed? Yesterday Mr. Beaudin told me that the time of Mayor Jones, in Moncton, is past. I think he is right. Today, everybody is envious of Moncton, which is attracting head offices and jobs on the basis of its bilingualism. They are in the process of

replacing the blue-collar jobs that had been lost (for instance, in the CN repair shops, where massive lay-offs took place).

Today, Manitoba is also putting out advertising promoting its own bilingual capability and trying to give Moncton a run for its money by making an effort to attract jobs. There have thus been some completely unexpected turnarounds, radical changes in mentalities. Lastly, it should be noted that the opinion of young people regarding bilingualism is far more positive than that of their parents.

Ned Ellis

Thank you very much, Ghislain. It's quite comforting in these times of unemployment, particularly, to know that bilingualism is an asset to finding a job. It's something that may serve all of us very well at some point or another during our careers.

Right now we're very pleased and honoured; we have the pleasure of the company and advice of Alice Nakamura who is currently the president of the Canadian Economics Association, Professor in the Faculty of Business at the University of Alberta, where she has worked since 1972. She holds a Ph.D. in economics from John Hopkins University. Her publications are numerous and widely known in the areas of labour economics and econometrics. She was most notably a member of Mr. Axworthy's task force on social security reforms; so we'll keep a very close eye on that, and she is engaged in a number of studies in the areas of immigrants' earnings and impacts on Canadian economy.

Alice was not able to be with us today. However, she suggested that her daughter Emi Nakamura would come and make her presentation for her and that was something, I must tell you, initially that sort of took us aback. We wondered about it but when we looked a little more closely and looked at the group of people and the group of presenters that we had, we felt that it might be a little bit of an advantage actually to have someone younger because after we are all long gone, it will be the Emis of the world who will carry on this panel and reap the economic benefits. Emi!

Emi Nakamura

Recently the emphasis on official language abilities has increased because of changes in Canada's immigration policy. This increase seems to reflect a growing concern about the performance of the Canadian economy. There are at least three main ways in which the official-language abilities of Canadian immigrants affect the economy. First, immigrants' official-language abilities have a direct impact on their own job prospects. This is similar to the effects of language abilities on the job prospects of native-born Canadians. At one extreme, the people who don't

know either official language are less likely to be in the labour force and, if they are employed, they tend to earn less. And, at the other extreme, people who know both English and French have a labour-market advantage. Professor Grenier, who is also one of the people presenting a paper at this conference, has done work on this topic.

Knowledge at least of one official language increases the probability that an adult immigrant will be self-supporting economically. Knowledge of an official language also increases the expected tax contributions of an adult immigrant.

The second effect of immigrants' official-language ability is that adult immigrants' official- language abilities have indirect impacts on the job prospects of their children, because parents who know the language of instruction are better able to help their children with language skills and also with school homework. And in addition to that, the educational experiences of non-immigrant children may be affected by high proportions of students who don't know the language of instruction.

A third category of impacts of the official-language abilities of Canadian immigrants is the direct economic effects of immigrant language training programs, because subsidies for immigrant language-training programs have to be paid for out of tax dollars. Clearly the official-language abilities of Canadian immigrants have a variety of effects on the Canadian economy. So this is a very appropriate topic for a colloquium on official languages and the economy.

Information on official-language abilities is collected from immigrants as part of the immigration process. But the Canadian Census also includes information on language ability. And the Census data has several advantages. First, immigration data is collected from both immigrants and non-immigrants. Second, information is collected on a variety of attributes, other than language attributes, like income and housing; so we can compare and relate language and other attributes for immigrants and non-immigrants. Third, Census data can be looked up from the point of view of the period when the immigrant came to Canada, which provides insight into how the settlement process proceeds over time. But, unlike the administrative data collected during the immigration process, Census data doesn't contain very much information about immigrant attributes at the time of immigration. The figures in our paper are based on administrative and 1991 Census data.

Recent censuses have collected three sorts of information about language ability. First, mother tongue. Presumably mother tongue doesn't change over time for an individual immigrant. Second, the language usually spoken at home, and this can change over time, because many immigrants with foreign mother tongues still adopt English or French as their home language. So this behaviour seems to be part of a natural settlement process for many immigrants. Third, self-reported ability to

carry on a conversation in either of the official languages or both. Ability to converse in an official language seems to be the most important language ability characteristic for immigration policy questions and also for immigration settlement.

The figures on the screen are based on the 1991 Census. So, first, let's look at the mother tongue figures. You can see that for those who immigrated before 1961, 37% reported English and 2% reported French as their mother tongue. And for those who immigrated between 1981 and 1991, 23% reported English and 3% reported French as their mother tongue. So the English figure fell 14 percentage points while the French figure rose by one percentage point. These changes seem to reflect the growing number of immigrants who come from source countries that are English-speaking.

Now, let's look at the home language percentages. The English figures are 73% for those who came before 1961 and 33% for those who came between 1981 and 1991. Both home language figures are considerably higher than the corresponding mother tongue figures. For those who immigrated before 1961, there is a difference of 36 percentage points and for those who immigrated between 1981 and 1991, there is a difference of 10 percentage points. Of course, the immigrants who came between 1981 and 1991 had much less time to adopt an official language.

The home language figures for French are 3% for the immigrants who came before 1961 and 4% for immigrants who came between 1981 and 1991. Both home language figures are higher than the corresponding mother tongue figures, but the difference is only 1%, in each case. The percentage of the immigrants who can't converse in either official language is considerably lower than the percentage of immigrants whose home language or whose mother tongue is neither English nor French. The figures on the screen are based on administrative data which was collected during the immigration process. The table on the screen shows the percentages of immigrants knowing neither official language at the time of immigration, by immigrant class.

Principal applicants admitted as independents are selected on the basis of a point system. The point system assigns points for attributes such as schooling, occupational qualification and also for official-language knowledge. As you can see, in 1991, less than 10% of independent immigrants knew neither official language and, by 1993, less than five per cent of independent immigrants knew neither official language at the time of immigration. Assisted relatives are also evaluated on a basis of personal characteristics, like language ability, but the evaluation is less rigorous than the evaluation for independent immigrants. So the assisted relatives class contains the second smallest number of immigrants who knew neither official language in 1993. Actually, the percentage of immigrants who knew neither official language has dropped for both the assisted relatives and the independent class between 1991 and 1993. But in contrast, for all other immigrant

groups, except for the refugees, this percentage was higher in 1993 than in 1991. So, similarly, for the business class the percentage of immigrants knowing neither official language has increased by about six percentage points between 1991 and 1993.

Business class immigrants are evaluated on the basis of their ability to create jobs for Canadians, and this role does not inherently imply the need for official-language ability. Similarly, for dependants of principal applicants in the independent, the assisted relatives and the business classes; the percentage knowing neither official language has increased between 1991 and 1993 by about six percentage points.

The percentage of family-class immigrants knowing neither official language has stayed pretty much the same between 1991 and 1993. But it's interesting to know that the family class has the highest proportion of immigrants knowing neither official language. So, this may suggest a need for increased federal assistance for official-language training programs for family-class immigrants, including those not headed for the workforce or for school.

Immigration is what initially determined the dual official languages of Canada. Reflecting the language make-up of the population, the *British North America Act* of 1867 established English and French as the judicial and legislative languages in federal institutions. So pre-Confederation immigration flows are particularly relevant when we're talking about official bilingualism, and the existence of official bilingualism has led to special interest in monitoring the English and French language abilities of Canadian immigrants. Thank you.

Ned Ellis

Thank you very much for those very useful and very entertaining comments. The part that just struck me was the second last table showing that fully 50% of business immigrants speak neither of the official languages. Somehow, when we talk about the economy and trade, and we talk about taking advantage of our dual language status, that would seem to me to be a very fertile area. I am happy to introduce François Vaillancourt, who holds a Ph.D. from Queen's University and is a Professor of Economics and Research Fellow at the *Centre de recherche et de développement en économique* at the University of Montreal and is, as well, a Fellow of the *Institut de recherche et de politique publique*.

He has published many papers in the fields of the economics of language and public economy. He has directed research and served as a consultant for a number of organizations, including the Canadian Tax Foundation, the *Conseil de la langue française*, the Department of Finance, the Economic Council of Canada, Statistics Canada and the World Bank.

François Vaillancourt

As it is late in the morning, I promise not to take up too much time.

The paper I am going to speak to you about briefly is a little different from what I could have done in other circumstances. Reference has been made to work I have done, like Gilles Grenier, on the links between linguistic attributes and earnings and, were it not for Statistics Canada, which is watching over these studies with great vigilance, I would perhaps have talked about a study which is in progress and will be published in the fall. But Statistics Canada's reservations and the desire to do something else have prompted me to adopt a slightly different approach. I am starting to feel a bit ancient from being quoted, but that is not serious.

My document is in three parts: some theoretical considerations regarding costs and benefits, some Canadian and Quebec facts, and some speculation.

I have adopted the same approach as the one used in the recent debates on Quebec sovereignty. Many sovereigntists talk to us about the economic benefits of sovereignty. I tell them they are completely out to lunch. There are economic costs, so tell the truth and then try to sell your point of view, despite the existence of costs.

They have adopted the same approach regarding the issues of bilingualism in Canada—to which Albert Breton referred—by saying, let's start with the costs, let's put them on the table, let's maximize the costs to a certain point or find the highest figures, and then let's try to see if the benefits would not outweigh them. This negative way of looking at things—if it works—supports the thesis that bilingualism could be an advantage.

As far as costs are concerned, it is essentially a question of economies of scale. Inside a given territory, it would cost less to operate solely in English, say, than to operate in French and English. There would be one CBC—I do not know if it is as good as having Radio-Canada and CBC—there would be no translation, no simultaneous interpretation, no people behind us in this room, and everything would proceed in English.

It can be shown in general that there are links between costs and factors such as the absolute population figure: the higher it is, the more the fixed costs can be spread over a larger number of people, thus reducing the cost per capita. The greater the concentration of linguistic groups in a given area, if there are two groups in a bilingual area, the lower the costs will be—this is the matter of territoriality Gilles Grenier referred to earlier this morning.

The more the languages that must be translated resemble each other, the lower the costs will be. You may be sure that, if Emi had spoken to us in Japanese earlier, we would have had much more difficulty than hearing her speak to us in English. The costs there are apparent.

So, in view of the costs, what could the benefits of bilingualism be? I think we have to be careful here and not consider as a benefit the fact—as you correctly stated—that bilingual people more often have jobs and in some cases have higher incomes. These are costs associated with the decision to be a bilingual society. These are benefits associated with the decision. There are costs for learning a second language and there are benefits in terms of job market opportunities.

It is because we have chosen a particular structure that we have become a bilingual society in some respects. Let us stand back from this and imagine that we have to sell the idea of bilingualism—let's be brave and say—to Alberta. What could we say to Albertans about the advantages of bilingualism?

It appears that there might be a benefit in terms of brain development. There was some question as to whether the more intelligent people were bilingual or not. I have gone to the trouble of reading on the subject, of trying to see if there might be a benefit essentially, and it would appear that an argument could be made for bilingualism providing a benefit.

But I would immediately alert you to the fact that the same argument is put forward regarding music. The conclusion could be reached that it would be better to have music classes an hour a day in Albertan schools rather than French classes.

There is an issue of personal benefit. A little like the case of my son, who will be going into Secondary I next year to study Latin at Brébeuf. The argument for Latin—that it is good, it will make him think, it will give him another perspective, it will help him to learn things—would also be a 'development of intellectual capacity' type of argument.

From the collective point of view, several advantages are noted. The first—I noted Albert Breton's usual finesse—he did not talk of export but of trade. There was considerable talk of export, this morning, but I would like to remind you that, when all is said and done, trade is a two-way activity. There is export, there is import. If costs could be reduced for Canadians, without creating a single job, if costs could be reduced by importing goods and services from abroad because of an additional linguistic capability—being bilingual, trilingual, quadrilingual—it would be a net gain for society, even if there was no exporting.

Trade is a two-way activity. There is a tendency to neglect what could be exported, but if better quality cheese can be imported from France or better quality

marmalade from England, according to the comparative advantages of various countries, there is a gain in raising the quality and quantity of goods available in Canada and, perhaps as well, reducing prices of such goods. This second dimension of trade should not be forgotten.

It is also possible, according to an interpretation of linguistic theories, that our manner of thinking is influenced by our mother tongue. I recently read a UNESCO article on the subject. People apparently do not approach problems the same way: there is the famous Cartesian spirit of the French and the common-law view of the British. We Francophones require rules from which concepts flow, the British lay down practices. This might explain in part the constitutional conflicts experienced in Canada. We Francophones would like to constitutionalize everything, they would like to put everything into practice. The same result would be obtained, but the viewpoints are different, whence our quarrels.

I think there is a good argument there. A society that is bilingual, trilingual or multilingual—on that score, the European Union is teaching us some lessons—will give us an edge over the rest of the world to sell different solutions or to bring together different teams within an enterprise, each one having its own way of dealing with problems. That is enough theory. Let's look at the facts.

The costs of bilingualism in Canada do not appear to be excessive. Their precise figure is not known: I hope to have information on this score before the final version of my paper. But, if we attribute a billion dollars to bilingualism in the Canadian public sector, I think we are being very generous. If we add a few hundred million dollars for the private businesses which must translate some labels or documents, I think that in all we are talking about less than 1% of the gross domestic product, between a quarter and a half of one per cent, according to my experience in Quebec. The reckoning is approximate, but I know that this is not the kind of money that is ruining Canada.

Individual benefits seem small to me for two reasons. First, there are relatively few Canadians who are really bilingual, except in Quebec. Second, some of the people who declare themselves to be bilingual in the Census are not really bilingual. François Grin mentioned his research in which he took into account the quality of linguistic knowledge. I think our question in the Census is probably such that many people who say they are bilingual are not benefiting from the psychological advantages of bilingualism. Because in the psychological studies, there is discussion of additive bilingualism, balanced bilingualism, high-level bilingualism; we have all kinds of different terms but the idea is that the person must be able to say a little more than 'I can say hello'. The person must be able to say a bit more than that. The argument about individual benefits is not necessarily valid.

On the other hand, in terms of the community, what seems clear to me is that Canada is positioning itself by offering two sets of services on the market, by also being able to attract two different types of immigrants (Miss Nakamura spoke to us about immigrants who did not know one of Canada's official languages; we don't know if it is French or English). But we are probably, thanks to our varied cultures, from Vancouver to Montreal—there are not many immigrants in Halifax, unfortunately—in a position to attract, by virtue of this bilingualism, a highly qualified labour force which is making a contribution we would be unable to match in a unilingual society.

I believe this gives us a certain advantage to be able to export—not to be Americans, as François Grin says—to be able to export North American expertise in French. The example, anecdotal as it is, that can be put forward is that of the sale of locomotives by Bombardier, to Cameroon, in Africa, in the 1980s. The president of Cameroon had told his advisors that he did not want French people but he did want a locomotive in French. The only place he could get what he wanted was in Montreal. This was how Bombardier obtained a contract.

In developing countries, there is a growing tendency to use the national language—Arabic, for example, in Mediterranean countries—which is going to cut into the share of the French-speaking community.

You will see that my paper also includes a few facts concerning the status of French in Quebec, but I show that there was no major change between 1986 and 1991. There has been mention in the newspapers of the study by the *Conseil de la langue française* which confirms this.

To conclude, a little speculation. Gilles Grenier raised the issue of territoriality and bilingualism, asking if European experiences could be drawn on for Canada. I entertained myself by drawing up a few recommendations and the first one is territorial unilingualism, meaning French in Quebec and English everywhere else, except perhaps in Montreal. I remain convinced that what we see can ensure the survival of Canada without major tension. A very strong Francophone space must be established and the only place that can be done is in Quebec. Insofar as this is not acknowledged more formally than it has been to date, there will be a 'Yes' or a 'No' vote in the referendum, but it will be somewhere in the 45 to 55% range, the 'Yes' side, and the same problem will keep coming back. This is a solution which partly sacrifices the Anglophone minority in Quebec, but it is not a very high price to pay for the rest of Canada.

Second, as linguistic policy, I think that the original languages of our immigrants are being wasted and that an essential condition of federal support to the provinces should be the maintenance of original languages of economic value. Chinese, Japanese, Spanish, German. I don't know if it's worth the trouble to maintain the

Albanian language. I think decisions should be made in the light of economic benefits to Canada. I think that we are very negligent on this issue and that we would be more convincing if there were a policy of official bilingualism in the Canadian linguistic framework which incorporated this dimension.

Lastly, I think that English Canada should get serious and, if bilingual people are what is sought, immersion must be made the norm. It works in Quebec, that is very clear. French immersion should be made the norm for a three-year period in the first or second part of elementary school.

To conclude, a thought about the funding of these policies. I believe the last conference in 1989 was organized by the Department of the Secretary of State. I recall a political scientist from Queen's telling us that French-English bilingualism was one of the few things that distinguished Canada from the United States. I am not familiar with any research data on the matter; I assume he knew what he was talking about and accept his contention. If such is the case, the issue raised by Albert Breton, who wonders who pays for bilingualism policies, becomes quite interesting, since it is to be expected that such policies would be financed by the Anglophones in the rest of Canada to maintain French in Quebec, and among the Francophone minorities because these very same policies confer upon them an external benefit in terms of identity.

If this is not the case—and this is very important—if it is believed that Americanization will occur more rapidly in English Canadian society than in Francophone society, partly as a result of the flows of immigration, political support from English Canada for bilingualism will dwindle.

The key trend I consider interesting to study is to find out if people outside Quebec, whether Francophone or not, are becoming more American. I think that if they do become more American, there will be less interest in the French fact. The Reform Party draws its strongest support from Alberta and British Columbia, where American multinational and multicultural influence is stronger than in the Atlantic provinces. I would say that that is where the issue will be resolved, as to whether Canadian identity is maintained with or without bilingualism.

Ned Ellis

Thank you very much. We are due for lunch. But I have a feeling that, after that presentation, there might be a comment or two. So maybe we can take five-ten minutes, but not longer.

Harold Chorney

I have some comments on Mr. Vaillancourt's presentation, particularly the suggestion that duplication is somehow necessarily costly. It may well be that in these very neo-conservative monetarist times that duplication actually allows the opportunity for some sort of accelerator multiplier effect to induce investment which would otherwise not be forthcoming. In other words, if these institutions wear out, the pressure to replace them is great.er and the number of institutions that need to be replaced is great, and that actually may induce more employment gains rather than cost you.

If you look at the other issue that you raise about territorial unilingualism; here, it seems to me you're ignoring completely the economic benefits that come from what I would call linguistic contagion, the fact that people speaking different languages mix with one another, hear the different languages, or are forced or encouraged to learn them, and this creates some more subtle society, a more innovative society, a society more open to economic innovation and change. And that actually is a very major benefit of not having a kind of apartheid based on language in Canada. So, I think you don't consider that and I think you ought to.

Marc Thérien

I just wanted to note that, with respect to territorial arrangement, there are costs not to be taken on either. We spoke about the illiteracy of Francophones, compared with Anglophones, related to educational deficiencies which have quite a substantial social and economic cost. This should be taken into account in measuring costs and benefits.

Vicky Bedros

I would like to comment on what Mr. Chorney had to say regarding the apartheid that could be created if, for economic reasons, two or three languages were given special status in relation to all the other ethnic languages which exist in Canada. I am completely in agreement because this could create discrimination. And this could drive an even greater wedge between citizens in general, citizens of various categories.

I, too, have a personal history. I am Lebanese by origin. In Lebanon, there are 17 ethnic communities and three million inhabitants. This is enormous, and I must also acknowledge the country's failure in terms of a national entity and identity, which has led to war. I do not want to be out of context, but am saying this simply to illustrate what I would like to say about Canada. I think that Lebanon's failure is attributable to the fact that there had been no policy, no established "federating" policy for the country. And this is why I worry when there is talk of

multiculturalism. It's true that it creates flexibility and increased communication among a people—but does it really create an identity, a true federation?

I think that having the two official languages should make it possible to federate people. I think it is an important "glue," the promotion of bilingualism in a country. This is Canada's image abroad; Canada presents a French and an English face to the world. And why does there have to be a shift from that, even if the profile of the population changes? Is it a reason to change the course of history? This is a question I ask myself. I have no solution. I speak from an observation in one country. I come here and I see that there is the same situation. It is perhaps a universal problem, but I also have a great belief in the creation of a common national entity without discriminating against others, while enabling them to maintain their traditions, their own languages, because this is not incompatible. But everyone must be rallied around something.

Morton Stelcner

My name is Morton Stelcner. I'm from Concordia University, Montreal. I would like to point out several interesting issues which I hope you'll find interesting.

The first issue has to do with internal migration: this has not been raised here. In particular, in terms of how language policies or the promotion of bilingualism might affect internal migration. Here, I'm thinking particularly of Quebec and I understand Professor Grenier has done some work on this.

My second comment relates to Mr. Savoie's idea of job access. One of the common complaints among the non-Francophone communities in Quebec is, regardless of how bilingual they are, they do not have access to jobs. Here, I think of the Quebec government. The proportion of non-Francophones employed by the Quebec government and, for that matter, the city of Montreal government, is minute; young individuals, university graduates at the two Anglophone institutions are leaving in great numbers, and they are fluently bilingual.

My third comment relates to the immigration issue. The Commissionner of Official Languages has been receiving an extremely bad press in, at least, *The Gazette* in Montreal, and this is regarding the subsidy provided to COFI. At the moment, I understand, Quebec is responsible for less than 10% of immigrants in Quebec, yet absorbs a third of the subsidies. What happens to immigrants when they come to Quebec? Do they leave after five years? What immigrants do not come to Quebec?

And again there was a recent study, done for the current government showing that 5,000 high-level jobs would leave Quebec. All these relate to language policies. I believe that non-Francophones, and perhaps some Francophones in Quebec, do

feel threatened by language policies as do supporters of the Reform Party. I don't think you're going to convince either group with the export argument.

People in Canada are not largely employed in exportable industry. The employment is not there; it is in services and many of these services are not exported. To argue that Bombardier can export subways to wherever, to New York, or China. What proportion of employment is accounted for by Bombardier? In the banking industry, there are some exports, but these largely flow south of the border. I think one should be very careful with the export argument. I would appreciate hearing any responses to these issues I raised. Thank you.

Ned Ellis

I think we can go and eat now! Thank you very much to all of the presenters this morning.

AFTERNOON

Pierre Gaudet

Ladies and gentlemen, thank you all for coming back to take part in the afternoon session. We have had a very interesting morning listening to general reflections on a number of aspects and a number of stimulating thoughts on a variety of matters.

We will now become more focused in our discussion. We will take a look at how linguistic policies apply to specific areas.

It is my great pleasure to begin this afternoon's proceedings by introducing you to two researchers who are going to make a joint, complementary presentation.

Mr. Maurice Beaudin is Assistant Director of the Canadian Institute for Research on Regional Development at the University of Moncton. He is an economist by training and is particularly interested in the economics of regional adaptation, labour market dynamics and land-use planning. He will soon be presenting his doctoral thesis at the University of Nantes. The thesis will discuss the adaptation of communities along the shores of the Gulf of St Lawrence. He has helped to conduct a number of studies on regional economic activity, as well as studies on minority communities. Our department and other departments have also enlisted his expertise for various studies.

The co-presenter is Mr. George De Benedetti, and he's Associate Professor of Economics at Mount Allison University. He teaches economic development at the community, regional and international levels. Professor De Benedetti is past president of the Atlantic Canada Economic Association and he has served on the

Research Advisory Committee of the Atlantic Provinces Economic Council, and is a member of the Board of Directors and a Research Associate at the Canadian Institute for Research and Regional Development at the University of Moncton. He is also a frequent commentator in the press, on CBC and other channels. He has written a number of articles on the Atlantic economy. He's currently researching a book on community economic development and has visited recently several coastal communities that have been affected by the ground-fish moratorium and is also visiting several linguistic minority communities to see their contribution to local development. So I'm very pleased to turn the floor over to these speakers.

Maurice Beaudin

The title of our presentation is: How minorities can contribute to the development of their respective regions. We say 'How?' rather than 'Is There a Way?' How, because, intuitively, we think that minorities do in fact contribute in one way or another.

To what extent do they contribute to the economic and overall development of their regions? That depends on one's context and the conditions under which these minorities exist.

We have selected two communities, the Évangéline region of Prince Edward Island (Prince County) and the Anglophone minority in the Gaspé Peninsula region, on the south shore of the Gaspé Peninsula, in the counties of Bonaventure and the Gaspé shore. This does not include all the Anglophones on the Gaspé Peninsula, but we have a reasonably representative sample.

Before going any further, I would like to say a few words about the context of the minorities, because there are two very important points that must be taken into account when we wish to use comparative indicators to assess their vitality, their state of dependence or level of emancipation, in socio-economic terms.

The first point is the situation of the minorities in underprivileged regions, regions that are rural in nature. Since the rural community is being relegated to the sidelines in all industrialized countries, this is a trend these minorities—and the majority—must deal with.

Further, when we talk about minorities, especially about Francophones but also about Anglophones, there are two types of minority groups: the traditional minority regions and the urbanized minority regions, peopled by those who have emigrated, not necessarily because of language, sometimes for economic reasons, as part of the outflow from rural areas to urban areas. We know there are many Francophones in the urban areas of the Maritimes. There are 7,000 Francophones in Halifax and

100,000 Francophones in the Toronto area, for example. These groups have an economic profile that is truly different from that of their community of origin.

These minorities are very comfortable economically. They are highly emancipated. Many of their members are professionals who play a very active role in economic undertakings. Economically, these individuals have a glowing profile but, linguistically, they become assimilated very quickly. We have the statistics to bear out our contention, in the case of the Francophones. We have not conducted the same studies for Anglophones. Since most of the cities are Anglophone cities, the minorities tend to be Francophone minorities.

The traditional regions are the ones which concern us a great deal in terms of regional development. The minorities here wrestle with a double problem: they must struggle with geographic disparities or handicaps and they must also contend with interlinguistic disparities. This is what we wish to show here.

I am not going to overwhelm you with an avalanche of statistics, because there are many points to be considered. For the Évangéline and Gaspé Peninsula regions, we discovered a demographic structure which is clearly unfavourable for both our minorities. Emigration is the obvious cause, and emigration is occurring in every rural area. Being part of a minority further encourages emigration.

This chink in the demographic structure is reflected in other indicators, of course. As far as participation in the labour market is concerned, there is less participation in economic activity. Anglophones in the Gaspé Peninsula participate less in economic activity than do the Francophones in the region. The same is true in the Évangéline region, where Francophones participate less in economic activity, with quite substantial differences.

With respect to years of education, we noted an exception among the Anglophones of the Gaspé Peninsula who, like the Anglophones of Quebec in general, had a higher level of education than the Francophones.

Where there are major differences, as far as we economists are concerned, is in the occupational structure and the industrial structure. And here the differences are substantial. I am going to show you only one table (we don't have much time).

You will see on the screen that we have the Prince County region, where there are Francophones and Anglophones. We have selected the six professions out of a dozen or so in which the salary levels are higher than average. These are called the high performance sectors, but that is very relative. These are the sectors in which the salaries are the highest. In these sectors, among Francophones, we find 23% of the labour force, while, among Anglophones, we find 30%. This gives a good idea of a structure which is more favourable to Anglophones. There is one

exception—the education sector—the explanation for which is that, on Prince Edward Island, the Acadians control this sector and are very well represented in it.

Elsewhere, especially in health, and in the executive and management sector, there are truly abnormal discrepancies. When we look at average salaries, the comparative salaries of Francophones and Anglophones, the Francophones always earn less in the same sectors, reflecting their lower positions in the hierarchy, that is to say, Francophones are appointed less often to senior positions.

This is a fairly general picture but I think it shows the structural differences quite well. Results for the Gaspé Peninsula are substantially the same, with a slightly smaller difference between the two groups. On the Gaspé Peninsula, the disparities are much more apparent when the comparison concerns the public sector. I will not show a table here because we do not have the time. On the Gaspé Peninsula, the disparity is more apparent in the public sector. Gaspé Peninsula Anglophones are greatly under-represented, especially in government services.

Why bring up disparities? Because, the way we see it, how can a minority contribute to the economic development of its region? The minority must be well equipped, it must have the tools needed for its development, it must be able to contribute, along with the majority, to the economic and social organization of the region. A good example is the Acadian minority of New Brunswick, especially in Anglophone settings, the Moncton area and even St. John and Fredericton, and for that matter the Chatham-Newcastle area. Minority-group Francophones are flourishing. There is still much progress to be made, but I think they have shown that they can make a contribution to life and the Anglophone majority has understood that it is possible and that indeed it is good, not just for the minority itself but for the majority and for everybody.

We wish to support these statements with examples.

My talk is very short, but when our text is presented we will be more structured and provide examples to show, for instance, that in the tourism sector there are some notable points. I am going to turn the floor over to my colleague, George De Benedetti, who is going to talk to you about organization in the regional context.

George J. De Benedetti

Thank you very much, Maurice. Today, I am very happy to be sharing the platform with Maurice. I think it is an example, where, in New Brunswick, somebody from an Anglophone university can co-operate with somebody from a Francophone university on a project such as this one. I think Maurice has put you in the picture. Basically, my comments are based on forty or more interviews that I conducted in the Gaspé Peninsula and the Prince County regions of Évangéline and Tignish-

Palmer Road in Prince Edward Island. The easiest way for me to summarize the study is to do it by way of contrasting the regions. In the region called Évangéline, there are approximately 2,500 Francophones in thirteen communities, but they are largely centred in Wellington and Abrams Village. There are approximately 1,100 Francophones in the Tignish-Palmer Road area. In the Gaspé peninsula, there are approximately 9,400 Anglophones. In Evangeline, although the number is small, the French are a majority and the communities are truly Francophone communities. In the Tignish-Palmer Road area, although a majority of the people come from an Acadian heritage, only 10% of them retained their language; so you have an assimilation of Francophones in the Tignish-Palmer Road region. In the Gaspé, it is somewhat different. There is not assimilation in the sense that the English have lost their language, but what exists is a *lingua franca* situation, where the working language in the Gaspé is French: business is conducted in French, social services are delivered in French, there are no English schools in many communities, and many English children attend French schools. There is a different climate in Quebec towards the linguistic minority than in Prince Edward Island, where there is a very supportive climate on the part of government towards its linguistic minority. There is a federal-provincial co-operation agreement on the promotion of the French language and the promotion of the well-being of Francophones in Prince Edward Island. The federal government contributes approximately $1.5 million a year, and Prince Edward Island approximately $800,000 a year. There is also an agreement between Quebec and Prince Edward Island for the promotion of the Francophone minority. Quebec contributes approximately $40,000 a year in this regard. From the Department of Canadian Heritage, there are some disparities in the level of support going to Prince Edward Island for Francophones and to Quebec for Anglophones. In 1993-1994, the Francophone community in New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island received $10.00 per person from the Department of Canadian Heritage compared to $3.30 per person for the English in Quebec.

What are some results of this differing level of support? In the Évangéline area, the Francophones have their own school and their own school board. This is very important because that will not only ensure that the children get educated in French, but it also provides a social focus for sports and other activities, ensuring the continuance of the culture. For example, in the Tignish-Palmer Road area, the Francophones are not able to obtain their own school and, as a result, after twenty years or so, the language virtually has been lost and the assimilation process has taken place. In the Gaspé, I presume because of the implementation of the language policy in Quebec, the climate towards Anglophones is almost hostile. In New Carlisle, there is an English high school, but in many areas there are no English schools; and, in terms of post-secondary education, even at the CEGEP level, the Anglophones must travel to Montreal or other areas of Quebec to attend CEGEP. In the Town of Gaspé, although there are some course offerings in English, the CEGEP is predominantly French.

I do not wish to list the various economic development agencies, but what I can say from my observations is that little is going on by way of economic development in the Gaspé. I do not know whether it is simply a preoccupation of the present government with the referendum, but public officials do not seem to be concerned about developing the Gaspé region. In Prince Edward Island, there is more of a concern but, of course, because both Prince Edward Island and the Gaspé are depressed regions, there is a lack of opportunities. In the Évangéline region, one of the important institutions that emerged, apart from their own schools, was an industrial commission that was set up to service that Francophone enclave in Prince County. This commission set up a *Centre commercial* in Wellington which has a small shopping centre and provides facilities for medical services. The other institution it created was the *Centre d'affaires communautaire* which houses various organisations, such as the *Secrétariat des affaires francophones*, which provides provincial services in French for the Francophones of Prince Edward Island; an accounting firm which provides its services in French; and an education centre which has multimedia capability and is hooked up, via the Internet, to the Collège de l'Acadie in Nova Scotia. This provides the opportunity to do post-secondary work through distance education. I will say more about this later. The Centre also acts as a drop-in centre for federal agencies.

In Évangéline, there is a strong co-operative movement; there are approximately eighteen co-operatives in the area. Also, there are some cooperatives in the Tignish-Palmer Road area, but these do not exist to the same extent in the Gaspé. Now, what about the attitudes towards development? In Évangéline, there is a predominantly French community where there is a large presence of public servants, who are well-educated people with leadership skills, committed to preserving the language, and seeing that the linguistic minority community prospers. Consequently, there is a great deal of willingness to participate in economic development, to lobby for their own industrial commission, etc. In the Tignish-Palmer Road area, you do not find that, because the French are not in the majority position. However, they do participate in whatever local development there is, but they cannot readily do anything special, even in the tourist sector. To promote a cultural event, they have to do it in the guise of a subset of a larger picture. For example, in the forthcoming bicentennial project for Tignish, the Acadian community will provide special cultural attractions. By contrast, in the Gaspé, there is no commitment to economic development by the Anglophones as a group. They are so busy fighting a rear-guard action in trying to protect their culture that they have lost sight of the fact that they should be engaged in economic development as a linguistic group.

How then do these linguistic minority communities contribute to their regional economies? In the Évangéline area, it is estimated that approximately 90,000 visitors of Francophone heritage come to the region from such places as Quebec, New Brunswick, Massachusetts, and Louisiana. In the Tignish area, approximately

2,300 come from Louisiana alone. In the Gaspé, we do not have good statistics on Anglophone tourists, but, as an example, the Gaspesian British Heritage Centre in New Richmond draws approximately 15,000 visitors annually. In Évangéline, the International Dance Festival being planned is expected to draw 200 dancers, their families, and tourists related to that event. As well, many Anglophones whose children are enrolled in French immersion courses journey to the region for the cultural experience and exposure. In the Tignish-Palmer Road area, the events have to be masked a little, as I explained, but cultural events do draw tourists, and in the Gaspé, visitors come for the Loyalist and other special events.

These linguistic minority communities also export the cultural services of artists, singers, dancers, etc. This makes a contribution to the economy as well. The communities add to the pool of bilingual workers. For example, Francophones in Évangéline, after twelve years of attending local schools, are ready to go to university, and many attend the Université de Moncton. If they cannot find employment upon graduation in Prince Edward Island, they will tend to stay in New Brunswick, some of them becoming entrepreneurs; or they will go elsewhere for employment. Also, Acadians, as a minority people, are used to innovating and contributing a certain amount of dynamism where they are. In the Gaspé, the English have traditionally contributed as entrepreneurs. Today, there is a joint effort between the English and the native community on the Mira reserve through the Société de la Gestion pour la Rivière Grande-Cascapédia to manage the salmon river because the salmon rivers were traditionally in English hands and attracted Anglophone tourists.

I have already mentioned the Gaspesian British Heritage Centre which is a Loyalist village in New Richmond. The village has approximately twenty buildings, much like Upper Canada Village, with thirty seasonal workers and 15,000 visitors annually. Another institution the English contributed to in New Richmond was the establishment of an agricultural fairground with a cattle auction. This is an important institution whereby cattle are auctioned and the price is set before the cattle leave the area. Previously, the price was determined at the destination point, at which time the stock had experienced weight loss and there may have been adverse price movements in the market. This innovation of the New Richmond auction has contributed to an improvement in productivity in the agriculture sector of the region's economy. I mentioned that the English traditionally were the innovators in the Gaspé, and generally they are at the forefront of technology even today. In the agricultural industry, there is one farmer who is exporting organic compost made of peat moss, fish waste, and farm waste to Japan. It is the English-speaking fishers who are more likely to adopt new technology. Fishers travel long distances to catch fish, and because English-speaking fishers can more easily communicate while they are in ports outside the Gaspé, they become acquainted with new ways and new technology. And because many of these fishers are also bilingual, they are able to pass their new knowledge on to unilingual

French-speaking fishers in the Gaspé. I mentioned that the culture is different: the English believe more in rugged individualism. One example is that of a newly arrived United Church minister who discovered that the land had not been farmed for many years. Turning that to advantage, she is now starting to create a community commercial enterprise which will be exporting organically grown crops.

In conclusion, we have seen how linguistic minority communities can make a contribution to economic development. Economic development in turn is an important ingredient in preserving the language and heritage of such communities. There is a symbiotic relationship here. All levels of government should make greater efforts not only to support activities which tend to preserve the culture in linguistic minority communities, but also to support the economic development of the regions. Without an economic basis for a linguistic minority community to survive, the people within the minority group will eventually move. The dispersion will likely lead to assimilation of the minority people and the loss of heritage and culture. Conversely, by developing linguistic minority communities economically, the heritage and culture of the linguistic minorities will be strengthened. I see this happening in Évangéline but not in the Gaspé, and I think there are some important lessons to be learned. Thank you very much.

Pierre Gaudet

Thank you to our specialists. We are going to move on to another presentation, which will enable us to return to general discussion.

Allow me to introduce Jean-Paul Gobeil, who is an associate with Deloitte & Touche. He is a management consultant in Winnipeg. Mr. Gobeil received the designation of chartered accountant in Manitoba in 1969 and that of management consultant in 1992. He works a lot in the public sector, particularly in carrying out feasibility, productivity and performance measurement studies.

Jean-Paul Gobeil

I feel a bit intimidated to find myself here today before this assembly of seasoned researchers.

I must admit that one of the pieces that I deliberately left out of my short bio was the fact that, basically for the last 14 or 15 years, I've been functioning as a consultant in the public sector, namely here in Ottawa, until my recent return back to my native Manitoba, and that most of the work that I did here was either in the office of the Auditor General or as a consultant engaged in right-sizing, down-sizing and other evil deeds perpetrated on largely unsuspecting federal civil servants. So I'm a little humble today, with good reason.

I hope you will not mind, but my presentation will not be directly drawn from the text I submitted to you, but from a study we completed last year for the Manitoba Association of Bilingual Municipalities, whose director is here among us.

I chose this study because it ties in with the themes in the document I submitted to you and addresses them in a more concrete manner. It better illustrates the problems we contend with in Manitoba.

I would like to present the results of the study we prepared for the Association of Bilingual Municipalities because these municipalities, which had recently come together, wanted to look at how bilingualism could be turned to economic advantage and the profits realized thereby reinvested in cultural development. There is quite a close link.

To start, I am going to explain what it is we wanted to do. First, we wanted to obtain an economic profile of the non-Francophone municipalities of Manitoba because Franco-Manitobans account for only 5% of the population. Logically, therefore, the Francophones cannot move mountains.

If we take the situation of the non-Francophone municipalities as a starting point, we will be able to see where these people are, in the range of sectors of the economy, and then make a comparison with the situation of Franco-Manitobans. You see that the primary sector—agriculture, mining, fishing, etc.—accounts for seven per cent of the Manitoba economy. The secondary sector—manufacturing, processing of natural or agri-food resources—accounts for 20%. And 73% of the Manitoban gross provincial product derives from the tertiary sector.

When we look at where the residents of the Franco-Manitoban municipalities are, we see that there is quite a considerable difference between this table and the one I just presented. We (Franco-Manitobans) are completely absent from the processing and manufacturing sectors, the industrial sectors, if you will. Where we are present is in the primary sector, in agriculture, which is a major contributor to the Manitoba economy. And the rest comes from the tertiary sector, retailing, but mainly health, social services and education. Here again the table may obscure the fact that there are not really very many Franco-Manitoban industries. It is mainly the teaching and health sectors which account for a large part of the percentage.

The question we asked ourselves was the following: how did we wind up in this position? We have to consider that, in 1916, the right to education in both official languages was abolished and it was not until 1970 that our right to educate in French in Manitoba was restored.

Between these two dates, all the energy of Franco-Manitobans was directed toward the education sector, the preservation of our cultural institutions. We had neither

the time nor the interest to train businesspeople, to become involved in the economy.

We know that the classical colleges of Manitoba produced a substantial number of doctors, teachers and distinguished public servants. These were the sectors which interested us, of course, and since the classical colleges were institutions in which instruction was provided by religious orders, the orders guided us toward the liberal professions. In 1969, when I obtained my accountant's certification, I was only the fourth Franco-Manitoban to do so, even though the Institute of Chartered Accountants of Manitoba has been in existence since 1896. You can see how little interest we showed in the economic sector.

Since we are now, once again, able to teach in French and have obtained Francophone school boards with the freedom to act, we are wondering if we should start to emphasize areas other than culture and education. The purpose of our study was to ask ourselves what we could do in economic terms to ensure that the municipalities benefited from what we could now consider an economic asset, that is, bilingualism.

An advertisement talks about "Central Bilingual Manitoba." It is an advertisement put out by the Manitoba government, a Conservative government which in the past was more often linked with the denial and abolition of Francophone rights in Manitoba than their promotion.

We should not underestimate the importance of the fact that a Manitoba government had the political guts to associate itself with an advertisement promoting bilingualism. This is an enormous step toward the acceptance of bilingualism as an historic fact and as an economic asset. Until this point, French was considered an unnecessary expense.

As was said this morning, when something happens linguistically, it generally happens in New Brunswick. So we took a look at the distribution of the gross provincial product of New Brunswick and of certain bilingual municipalities in the province compared with the gross provincial product of Manitoba.

You see from the table that that there is some small variation, but the fact remains that the secondary and tertiary sectors are present in nearly all the municipalities, which was not the case in Manitoba.

To delve further, we met with 12 New Brunswick businesses. We wanted to know why they had set up in this or that municipality. Did bilingualism have anything to do with their choice? Our interviews gleaned the following results.

You see that for 10 of the 12 businesses, it was indicated that bilingual, qualified workers had been an important factor. It was an asset — the people in the area had succeeded in making their bilingual capability a selling point. (When I talk about a study or research, I am not talking about a study the way Statistics Canada would define one. No strict approach to methodology or sampling was applied. Our study is somewhat anecdotal in that we selected the businesses that were visited.)

We were able to conclude that some sectors are sensitive to bilingualism. By way of example, the mining sector seemed to us to be quite indifferent to bilingualism; however, when a call centre was involved, bilingualism was more important. First conclusion: it is not necessary to take on all the sectors of the economy, because bilingualism is not necessarily an asset in all sectors. There are other sectors, on the other hand, where bilingualism is virtually essential.

We also learned in Moncton that bilingualism served to bring Francophones and Anglophones together. It would appear that Anglophones have started to understand the intrinsic value of bilingualism; they have reportedly become less negative toward the French fact in New Brunswick.

We then visited some of the highest ranking businesses in Manitoba to ask them why they had chosen to set up shop in a such and such a location. You see that they were not interested in the same factors. The quality of the labour force was an important consideration, as were well trained people and access to the transportation network.

I also note two other factors as being important because they can be linked to the structures controlled by municipalities, provinces, or even the federal government. We are talking about the availability of infrastructure—transportation networks, the train, energy, electricity, telephone service—considered to be a prime factor in selecting a site. The second factor was the lobbying done by municipal elected officials to convince government agencies to help with funding. Municipal officials must get involved in economic development if it is to occur. In short, if Francophones want business, it is up to the municipalities to put in the necessary funding and effort.

These are the conclusions we reached after our meetings with these businesses. There are sectors which are much more suited to bilingualism, in which bilingualism is worth something. Municipal councils must play a very active role. Economic development is their bailiwick and it is up to them to take the challenge in hand.

We were prompted to make several recommendations, which are as follows. The municipalities should get involved in economic development, know how to target

the sectors which are favourable to them. They must above all choose sectors in which bilingualism appears to be an asset.

Pierre Gaudet

Thank you for your presentation.

For fifteen minutes or so we are going to open the floor to discussion of these two presentations. I found the two talks to be particularly interesting because, starting with more general, more theoretical, presentations, we moved on to more specific issues, fieldwork.

Marc Thérien

My comment is for Mr. De Benedetti. I felt a little ill at ease during your presentation. I'm sure it is not because of the data you obtained or your statistics, but I have a theoretical question about comparison of communities, and whether we don't fall into a trap of inveterate comparisons. It struck me, for example, that you mentioned that Francophone students in the Évangéline region could go to the Université de Moncton, while those in the Gaspé region do not even have their own Cegeps. I don't know if you're reflecting the perceptions of people in their difficulties or whether the comparisons are valid and because these comparisons are established to bring about judgements of provincial indifference.

George J. De Benedetti

Yes, I guess it is very difficult to compare communities, but I guess what struck me was the optimism in Évangéline in contrast with the pessimism in the Gaspé. So I tried to look for things that might account for that. With respect to access to post-secondary education, of course, neither region has a university; there is no French university in Prince Edward Island, and there is no English university in the Gaspé. But there is, at least, distance education, through the multimedia centre which gives access to post-secondary courses, but there is nothing like this in the Gaspé. And, as I say, even the school systems are different. Outside Quebec, normally after grade twelve, students can go to university. In Quebec, they have to go through the Cegep system. However, there is not an English one available in the Gaspé. But also, yes, you have to be careful about making comparisons and also about people taking advantage of opportunities. For instance, the multimedia centre in Évangéline is a very high-tech advanced centre with connections to the Internet and with audio-visual facets. It is a fantastic centre; it is a model for Prince Edward Island and a model for other communities to use.

The Gaspé has recently been given money to develop an Internet connection, but they do not see establishing a multimedia centre there. They want to use the

Internet to link up communities so the English can talk with one another. So, it works both ways. I mean, there are differences in terms of what resources people have available to them, but there are also differences in how people take advantage of the resources that they are given.

Ned Ellis

I wanted to address a question to Monsieur Gobeil but also, equally, to the other two presenters who might have comments on this as well.

The New Brunswick example is so striking and so dynamic. Another aspect is the strong emphasis they put on communications technologies. Moreover, what is important is not only the linguistic policy there, but the question I've always asked myself about the New Brunswick example: was it successful simply because New Brunswick was the first to do it? For quite some time it was the only one to do it and, therefore, did it have a comparative advantage which no one else had? Is it a model that everyone can follow or is it a unique situation?

Jean-Paul Gobeil

I'll answer this one in English because information that I have comes to me in that language. I can assure you that it grated upon our Premier Gary Filmon no end to read, yet again, that Moncton or New Brunswick had managed to scoop up another call centre.

I think when we look at that and we try to understand the reasons behind it—to get back to your question—there is no doubt that New Brunswick has a very advanced telecommunications network, a fully digitized telephone network which it has exploited very, very well. You're right in the sense that New Brunswick was perhaps the first to do it. I would also say they were the most vocal about it. It's a well-known fact, I think, in business circles, that Frank McKenna regularly took out a suite at the Royal York hotel in Toronto and welcomed the business community to come and talk with him.

And I think in that sense, as envious as all of the other provinces could be about what New Brunswick was accomplishing, New Brunswick was doing it and they were earning what they were getting. The Franco-Manitobans were just as equally unhappy with Mr. Filmon's achievements, and to some degree, with the City of Winnipeg because of their stubbornness or reluctance in trumpeting essentially the same assets as New Brunswick. Most of the province of Manitoba also has a fully digitized telephone network except for remote areas in the north, who don't really need it. So we have that but, somehow, we were reluctant to tell anyone. We also have a fully bilingual workforce which we were reluctant to tell anyone about. I think it was those elements that really annoyed us, and I think to some degree that

is why the Association decuded to look at this question. So, I'm not sure that I've dealt entirely with the point that you raised, Ned, but there is no doubt that New Brunswick was the first at it. I would say, they were the most organised and they succeeded. Others have since followed, yes, and there is a diminishing return after awhile, but there are not enough of these opportunities to go around. I think the perspective of Franco-Manitobans, and maybe Manitobans as a whole, is that we could have done a lot better, had we acted sooner. Thank you.

Pierre Gaudet

Are there any comments from Mr. Beaudin or from Mr. De Benedetti?

Maurice Beaudin

In New Brunswick, when we look at things from the outside, we are led to believe that what is happening there is attributable to the fact that the province is bilingual. I think that the real explanation is much more complex. Many factors come into play, convergences occur.

Premier McKenna made it his policy to forge ahead in the field of the new economy. This played a large role. I am convinced that the presence of a bilingual workforce in the urban centres of the south has contributed enormously to the successes of the province.

This said, I think that the contribution of the Francophone minority has been brought up to speed through the latest developments, but I think that the process has been going on for at least twenty years or so. Before the 1960s, the Francophone contribution was small because the Acadians did not have the means; they were simply fighting for their survival; they did not have access to education like the Anglophones; there was a great deal of discrimination.

The Liberal government of Louis Robichaud, in the early 1960s—Robichaud was Acadian—made it possible to effect many changes in terms of tax structure, access of Francophones to the public service and the creation, in 1963, of a Francophone university. In the space of twenty or twenty-five years, the Acadians became emancipated. There is still much work to be done in some fields, but, once the social, linguistic and cultural foundations were secured, the Acadians were able to venture into the economic field and we see the first fruits appearing today.

We have a generation of Acadian entrepreneurs. In New Brunswick, there is an Economic Council: I believe 95% of its members are Acadians, who make a great contribution to the economic development of the province and the regions.
This is not a recent development; it was noticed recently because there was apparently an attempt made to have some jobs moved from Vancouver to Moncton.

The process has been going on for more than twenty years and is picking up speed. There are special regional characteristics and it is difficult to transpose these things elsewhere, as is. But this does show that the minority and the majority can work together. New Brunswick's example is a telling one.

Charlotte Cloutier

I think Mr. Beaudin has addressed my concern before I even expressed it. When I listened to you talk about New Brunswick's attraction for investors—I believe Mr. McKenna has been very clever in this regard—he went all over looking for investors, encouraging them to come and set up shop in his province with its bilingual workforce.

My concern is this: we are dealing with a rather limited number of investors. We are attracted hither and yon by the same investors. Can we change this desire to go forth in search of investors into a desire to develop our entrepreneurial capability and provide bilingual service, developing it using our own expertise and not always seeking elsewhere?

I was a little relieved to hear Mr. Beaudin say that, as the years go by, there is a change into a desire to offer something extra by developing local entrepreneurship, using bilingualism as an asset, but also using the drive of the communities. So, the answer has already been given and I thank you.

Gilles Grenier

A question for Mr. De Benedetti. You say, in your presentation, toward the end, that Prince Edward Island was sympathetic toward the Francophone minority while the linguistic policy of Quebec seemed to seek the assimilation of Anglophones.

On the other hand, you say that, in the sample for Prince Edward Island, 40% of Francophones were becoming assimilated. You do not give figures for the Anglophones of the Gaspé. I do not know the figures, but I know that there is very little assimilation among Quebec Anglophones. So how can it be said that Quebec policy seeks to assimilate Anglophones when no assimilation occurs, while Prince Edward Island policy is favourable to Francophones who, however, are being assimilated by the score.

George De Benedetti

Yes, I perhaps used the term "assimilation" in two senses. In the Gaspé, the English are not assimilated in the sense that they lost their language; it is that they are forced to use French as the *lingua franca*. In Quebec, especially in the Gaspé, the English are not seen as assets. They are almost seen as liabilities. In Prince

Edward Island, the provincial government has recognised the French community as an asset to Prince Edward Island. They recognised the contributions of the Acadians. It might not have been that way twenty years ago but, today, there is a recognition that there is a contribution to the Island's economy. In the Gaspé, for instance, the language laws have changed but, for a time, even if there was an English school, it was forbidden to display the name of the school publicly. We are dealing with a different environment. I do not know if there is something else you wanted to ask, but I think the answer to your question is, I was not careful about the use of the term "assimilation."

Jean-Bernard Lafontaine

In the case of New Brunswick, as in that of Prince Edward Island, what has favoured change is the political will of the provincial governments to no longer consider their minorities to be a nuisance, something which caused bother and was not worthwhile. Today, however, it's a question of value added, especially in Prince Edward Island, where this has only been the case for seven years under Mr. Ghiz.

If the Manitoba government were prepared to take such a step forward, henceforth it would be considered an asset to have Franco-Manitobans. I think that the change is there. We are moving beyond absolute economics to introduce a concept of a political nature and acknowledge minorities as an asset.

François Grin

I think the debate can be explained by the fact that the subject of the debate was not totally clarified. Listening to the contributions, including the two presentations, which I might add I found to be extremely interesting, I was wondering what the variable at issue was? In my opinion, there were at least four, and it was never clearly seen which one was involved. It could be the effective use of the two official languages; it could be the dissemination of language skills through activities defined as bilingual activities; third, it was sometimes simply an issue of economic development; and, fourth, there was talk about economic development, but specifically development strengthened by the use of bilingualism.

Depending on the speaker, rather different things were talked about, and thus the explanatory factors are no longer the same. The starting point should be to state what the variable at issue is.

Margaret Lefebvre

Premier McKenna was the keynote speaker at the conference last year, in which the topic of the conference was a learning and living environment; life-long learning. And at that point, in a very non-political form, he made a very strong point. He had turned to his province to look at it for economic development, taking into consideration, with an open paradigm, every conceivable thing that could turn out to be an asset. Bilingualism turned out to be an asset, but it was the result of a fresh eye at examining what we have to offer.

One of the things that I'm hearing today is the recognition that this is a national asset. And I think it's important that if we recognise that it is an asset, we should use it as such.

Albert Breton

I think we've got to be very sure that we get cause and effect in the proper direction here. I think that what Mr. Lafontaine said is absolutely correct. In New Brunswick, there was mention of McKenna, but Hatfield cannot be forgotten. All he did for the Francophone minority is tremendously important. Both he and Robichaud made bilingualism an asset. So the "volonté politique" that Monsieur Lafontaine talks about is tremendously important. It's important for two reasons. It reflects what the political leadership decides is going to be an asset and what it's going to commit itself to and stick with. But it also reflects the fact that political leadership is at once a reflection of what the people sense is the proper thing to do. Political leadership, at the same time that it is formed by the people, informs the political will.

So it's a complicated mixture of going back and forth; it's a complicated dialectics, the relationship between political leadership and the people of a country. But when political leadership, for a long number of years, as in New Brunswick, does this, it really can transform something that's not terribly important into a tremendously important asset.

In the case of Manitoba, I think it's just too early to say if something is going to emerge because, first, Mr. Filmon is not known for big guts, and consequently whether it's just a passing mood or whether it's a real commitment, I think it is going to be more difficult in Manitoba than it was in New Brunswick. It really would require some sort of a strong person like Hatfield, I would think, more than Filmon. Let's hope that he does it; I think it's tremendously important.

I, for example, can never talk about the problem of the place of Francophones in Canada without talking of Lester Pearson and Pierre Trudeau and Brian Mulroney, who is not one of my heroes. But Mulroney did a big thing because he told the

Conservative Party there was no going back on that issue. The political will is tremendously important and cannot be underestimated. I want to emphasize what Monsieur Lafontaine said. It is tremendously crucial to our discussion this afternoon.

François Vaillancourt

Ms. Lefebvre said something important when she mentioned a "national asset." We were talking about regional development. This leads back to Gilles Grenier's issue, the issue of territories. Can we "sell" as an economic argument, the upholding everywhere in Canada of the language minorities? Should we have minimums and accept that outside the zones in which there are minimums, it will not go over? Thus, trying to convince Quebec Francophones that it is an economic asset to have Anglophone minorities in the Gaspé Peninsula, in my opinion, will not go over. Selling the idea of having an English minority in Montreal does go over very well.

François Grin

Just one brief comment that, in many ways, tries to answer or to comment on what has been said by Professor De Benedetti and by Mrs. Lefebvre, just a moment ago. In many ways, what François Vaillancourt just said converges with what I wanted to point out; namely, that I don't think that bilingualism, itself, is a notion that we should take blindly, because bilingualism can mean a variety of different things and it's never, I don't think ever, ever, symmetrical. French/English is not the same thing as English/French bilingualism and, by the same token, French/English is not the same thing as French/Inuit (or Inuktitut, to be precise). So you can never think or talk about bilingualism, in my opinion, and of course talk about the policy implications of it, without taking into account the imbalance in either power or socio-economic status. Any reference to bilingualism that doesn't put the imbalance at the heart of the reasoning is probably doomed to mistakes, and that's why I suggest that the important notion to be assessed is not so much bilingualism and how much it is worth, but to compare, as I said earlier, different linguistic environments and decide what linguistic environment we want and which one can be considered preferable from an economic, social, cultural, etc., standpoint.

Maurice Beaudin

In reply to Mr. Vaillancourt, I do not really share his views on minorities. As far as regional development goes, your reasoning is to say that we cannot look after all the regions. Quite obviously, you say, there are regions which are not strong enough and could not manage to make it. So they will be left to fend for themselves. They will empty out demographically. This argument could be extended from a village to a small town, a medium-sized town, a city, until, finally, the only place left in Quebec would be Montreal.

Linguistically, the same reasoning could be applied. I think that if you had come to Moncton in the 1960s—perhaps you did come, I don't know—you would have seen the reluctance and arrogance and the disdain of Anglophones for the Acadian minority, which was trying to find its voice. You would have said that there would never be harmony in this city and that the Francophones would never be able to contribute to the existence of such a city.

Today, that has changed a lot. This said, I know that the same level of services cannot be provided everywhere in Canada, in all the regions, to Francophones and Anglophones. But I think that the reasoning which consists in saying that we are going to restrict ourselves to Montreal or the large centres is dangerous, both in terms of regional development and in terms of language.

François Vaillancourt

It would not necessarily be Montreal. A cost-benefit calculation would have to be made. But I say that it is highly unlikely that in Brador, on the Lower North Shore of Quebec, it is worth the trouble to develop the English minority which might still live there—some fifty or a hundred people—considering the economic costs. There could be non-economic reasons—I have no objection. But I say that if we wish to 'sell' the policy from the economic point of view, care must be taken. Certainly to New Brunswick, certainly to the Anglophones of Montreal. For the rest, it is a matter of fairness.

If we wish to keep a province bilingual—Manitoba, say—it's a good idea to have Francophone schools outside Winnipeg, because those people are more likely to live in Winnipeg than in Toronto if they have the choice. Involved here is a concept of Francophone nurseries. But this is not a very strong argument, for example, for saving New Richmond. In view of the state of development of the Gaspé Peninsula, I already said that I did not understand why Prince Edward Island was a province, and I do not understand either why the south shore of Newfoundland is kept open. There must be acknowledgment of certain technological changes which mean that some things are no longer feasible. When the cry goes up that the Canadian economy is no longer 'compelling' on the international level, we often overlook the costs that have been paid to avoid unpleasant, but necessary, social changes.

Pierre Gaudet

Let us begin the last phase of our conference.

We will talk about the links between social and economic policies, which are perhaps inseparable in real life.

We are pleased to have with us Mr. Gilles Grenier, Professor in the Economics Department of the University of Ottawa. He did his doctorate at Princeton University. He was head of the University of Ottawa Economics Department for several years and, since 1992, he has been managing *L'Actualité économique*. He has completed a number of research papers on the economics of languages and the labour market in Canada.

Gilles Grenier

Thank you for inviting me. I am happy to see that this conference is being conducted in both languages, which is not always the case when I attend conferences organized by federal government departments. The last conference I went to dealt with immigration—a field of research which also interests me—and all the proceedings were in English. I was the only person who made some work for the interpreters by giving my presentation in French.

I am going to present some thoughts on relationships between language and economics, with particular reference to the Canadian situation. I do so as a professor from the Economics Department of the University of Ottawa. I also do so as a resident of Aylmer. The perspective I have chosen is a Quebec and Francophone perspective. I sometimes have problems identifying myself because, as a University of Ottawa professor, I am taken for a Franco-Ontarian. I was born in Quebec, in the Saguenay-Lac St-Jean area—a very nationalist area, as you know.

I did not learn much English before the age of 20. When I arrived here some twenty years ago, I noticed that everyone operated in English, and it came as a shock. Since then, I have myself experimented with bilingualism, and my knowledge in economics has prompted me to reflect on the matter, and that is what I would like to put before you.

I have two goals. First, I am going to present an analysis of the role of language as an economic asset. It is a theoretical and economic analysis. What purpose does a language serve? I will then discuss some of the repercussions for language policies.

The first part is quite theoretical; I analyse language as an economic asset. I am going to deal with four basic ideas which I think are important when language is analysed from an economic viewpoint. First, language plays a role as a communication tool. People want to communicate with each other and the fact that they use a language enables them to exchange ideas.

The principle can be stated that, in a group of people, communication is more efficient if all the members of the group use the same language. If people use two

different languages, translation services are needed, which creates costs. It would be much more efficient to use the same language.

It is useful to compare language to other standards which exist in the communication field. I raise the example of the videocassette recorder. Several years ago, two systems existed: VHS and Beta. Gradually, one of these systems disappeared (Beta) and now everybody uses VHS because it was noted that it was much more efficient to do so.

The example of micro-computers is also relevant. Here again, there are two standards on the market: the IBM standard and the Macintosh standard. Communication between the two is possible though much more difficult than it is within a single system. The IBM system has the largest market share (85 or 90%. The Macintosh system has not disappeared, however, perhaps because, in the case of micro-computers, the type of thing that is done is more complex than what is done with a videocassette recorder and, in some market niches, people are better off using the Macintosh, even if the IBM dominates the market.

In the case of languages, it is somewhat the same. In today's international context, the language that is the equivalent of the IBM is English. But there are also other languages, which can be compared to the Macintosh: French, German and Spanish, which are used in a number of countries but which are much less widespread than English.When there are several languages, we tend, for the purposes of efficiency in communication, to choose one of them.

My second point is that language is also a means people have for expressing their culture and people have an attachment to their mother tongue. They identify with that language, regardless of its usefulness in communication; people are attached to their culture and this must be borne in mind when we consider language from the economic viewpoint. Language is not solely a means of communication, it is also a means of consuming certain cultural, literary and artistic goods which are identified with a language.

The third idea is that language is a kind of human capital, which is to say that people who learn a language assess the costs and benefits of such learning. In general, it can be concluded that people who consider several languages as a life choice are going to choose the language which offers the greatest economic value. That is why the language learned most is English, because it is the dominant language on the international scene.

Fourth, language is a collective, or public, asset. To be able to reap the benefits of a language, a number of people must speak it. This can sometimes justify government intervention because of the fact that some economic assets are public

in nature and generate external effects. This means that the government can intervene and make decisions which affect the linguistic choices of a community. Let us now consider repercussions for linguistic policies. Let us try to see how linguistic policies can be set in motion, again from the theoretical viewpoint. The economic theory of public finance makes distinctions among the various roles of the State. The State can intervene in the economy in terms of allocating resources; it can augment resource allocation in the cases where there are external effects. This is what happens in the field of the environment. We know that the environment generates external effects and we can justify State intervention in this field.

The State can also intervene to redistribute or share out wealth. It may be deemed that some groups in society do not earn enough and that the State may tax the privileged to redistribute assets to those who have less.

In the Canadian context, analysis of linguistic policies must also take into account the current budgetary constraints, because there is a reduction in government intervention. Intervention must cost as little as possible and this is certainly true for the linguistic sector.

If we consider language as a communication tool, my impression is that is it not clear that government intervention is necessary to impose one language in particular. No intervention by a country made it necessary that English dominate. The market, as in the case of videocassette recorders, determined that it was not efficient to have two parallel systems and that communication should be conducted by means of a single system. From the language viewpoint, I think that international market forces seek the dominance of English.

There are perhaps reasons for the State to intervene to protect languages. Language, as has been said, is not solely a means of communication, but a means of expressing cultural life. People have preferences and, since culture is a public asset, this could warrant government intervention.

The State can also intervene in the linguistic field to oversee the distribution of resources and the argument I have to make here is as follows. When, in a given community, a language is used, the people whose mother tongue is that language will have an advantage over those who do not have that language as a mother tongue. It could be decided that that is not fair and intervention could take place, either by subsidizing those who must learn the language or by supporting the other language in various other ways.

There are two types of approach to linguistic policies. There may be a desire to change the dominant language in a market. Let us suppose that the market decides that the VHS machine dominates; the government could opt the other way, for Beta.

Let us suppose that 95% of people already own Betas. The government could decide that it was not acceptable that the 5% who have VHSs impose their norm. The imposition of the majority norm is what is sought.

Take the example of Quebec, where the dominant language was once English. Government intervention has ensured that French now dominates. When there are two languages in competition, balance must be obtained and, by intervening as it did, the Quebec government redressed the balance in favour of French.

The other type of policy is to encourage the use of two languages having reasonably equal status, which can also be described as a bilingualism policy. This context is one in which one language tends to dominate. Here in Canada, English is that language. And the federal government intervenes to help out French to ensure that the two languages have reasonably equal status.

The problem is that in Canada the bilingualism policy has not succeeded in reversing the trend because the trend is too strong. Despite the policy and despite the laudable efforts of Francophones outside Quebec, there must be acceptance of the fact that assimilation of Francophones outside Quebec is continuing at a very rapid rate—as was said earlier today, 40% of Prince Edward Island Francophones are becoming assimilated and there has been no success in slowing the pace of assimilation, despite linguistic intervention measures.

In Canada, according to my personal experience, the federal government nearly always operates in English, 90 to 95% in English, and translates into French. Trying to have a linguistic policy under which both languages are reputedly equal creates an unstable equilibrium. There is always pulling on one side and the State must constantly intervene to ensure the blanket does not wind up on all on one side. Bilingualism requires non-stop intervention on the part of the State.

My conclusions come close to those of François Vaillancourt. I believe that the bilingualism policy which seeks to make Canada bilingual from sea to sea cannot be realized. It is a failure. It confirms the status of French as a second language. Everybody would agree here to acknowledge that French and English are not equal. Canada is an English-speaking country which recognizes French as a second language.

There is only one province in Canada—Quebec—in which French does not have second-class status. From this Francophone perspective, I am prompted to suggest quite basic changes in the approach to current linguistic arrangements.

In the spirit of François Vaillancourt, I would propose that Quebec should be a society where the official language is French. English would be recognized as a second language and would naturally be used as an international language. I would

propose that in the other provinces the situation should be reversed; English would officially be the first language and French would officially be the second language. Lastly there is the case of New Brunswick, where the minority is almost as large as the majority. There we might be able to justify a policy of bilingualism. Elsewhere in Canada, we should aim for a sort of territorial unilingualism, with Quebec French and the rest of Canada English. It would be necessary to make the arrangements dictated by such a policy.

Pierre Gaudet

Thank you, Mr. Grenier. We will now ask Mr. Chorney to give his presentation.

Harold Chorney is a professor at Concordia University in public policy and public administration. He holds a Ph.D. in political economy and public administration from the University of Toronto and also studied at the London School of Economics and at the University of Manitoba. He is the author of *City of Dreams: Towards A Humanist Political Economy* and also of the *Deficit and Debt Management: An Alternative to Monetarism*; and he will also publish soon *Rediscovering Full Employment*. He's also been teaching at the University of Manitoba, Toronto, McGill.

Harold Chorney

Thank you. I would first like to briefly outline my presentation in French. Then I will speak in English.

I develop several very important themes in my text: the theme of linguistic competence. This idea comes from the German philosopher Jurgen Habermas. Our colleague, Charles Taylor, of McGill University, has developed this idea in relation to the Quebec situation to justify a "deep diversity" policy for the development of Canada and a policy of bilingualism.

Second, I would like to discuss the issue of access to employment and linguistic attributes. I discuss the possibility of improving access to employment for minority groups, in Quebec and outside Quebec, through bilingualism. I speak of a highly original approach from Robert Reich, currently the United States Secretary of Labour, a man who will have some influence for a number of years. This approach stresses the matter of linguistic competence and technical competence in explaining the economic growth of nations.

I will then talk about the issue of unemployment, youth unemployment in Quebec, more specifically. I will also speak about monetary policy, because I am in a minority here in Ottawa. But I reject the monetarist policy of the Bank of Canada,

and I am certain that it has a negative impact on our policy of bilingualism and national unity.

Like the previous speaker, I have a personal history and I am influenced by what has happened to me. This is a very "Habermassian" theme. It is highly phenomenological. I always talk about the phenomenology of public policy. Whose ox is being gored? If it is not yours, it is very easy to talk of things like a natural rate of unemployment insurance *[sic]*, because you are not personally affected. If you are affected, then you have a different point of view.

As you can well appreciate, a paper with that many themes is too long to present adequately in officially 10 minutes, but I figured out here that officially 10 minutes is more like 20 minutes. So I will ask your indulgence if I take about, say, 20 minutes; even though it's late in the day and speaking last is always a great disadvantage because everyone is very tired, the oxygen, the pollution level has gone up and people are feeling conference fatigue. So I'll ask your indulgence; I'll speak as quickly as I can.

Well, I was born in the Saint-Boniface Hospital in Manitoba, another Manitoban. The first language I heard undoubtedly was French. My parents are the children of Russian immigrants to this country in about 1913 and 1921. Their maternal language is neither French nor English nor Russian, but Yiddish. I'm married to a woman from London, England. With that constellation of personal factors, perhaps you can then appreciate what I'm going to say, or discount it accordingly.

First of all, the debates that Charles Taylor had with Jurgen Habermas. This is, of course, a philosophical debate and, at first glance, it appears to be remote from our concerns here. But let me try to bring it down to a relatively accessible level where I think it has some very important implications; because what these two philosophers are arguing about, and it takes place in a book with a title which in Quebec is unfortunate, *Multiculturalism*, this is a great anathema in Quebec, but what they mean by this is the idea of diversity, recognition of difference in societies. And they argue that, in a democracy, an advanced industrial democracy, such as Canada, for example, the diversity of the country, the diversity of its population is, of course, a great asset and a critical ingredient to that diversity. It is, in fact, the possession of linguistic duality to begin with. We can talk about multiculturalism as well, but linguistic duality is a fundamental characteristic, of course, of Canada, but also of a society in which there is deep diversity, the recognition of people, where they find themselves, in their own community; the use of the philosophical expression which comes from German *lebenswelt* (one's life world); where one literally finds oneself, one's life biography, how you come to view the world.

And, of course, all of us come to view the world through our own life biography. If we look at the debate, what they are essentially arguing about is the extent to which this kind of politics of deep diversity enhances and strengthens the demographic fabric of an advanced society. And I would argue, borrowing from Habermas and Taylor, it's an argument that not only an economist would make, but a political economist would make it, that we have an opportunity to greatly enhance and have enhanced the democratic quality of our life in this country by embracing the policy of bilingualism or linguistic duality. Hence, I was earlier objecting to the idea of territorial unilingualism which is moving away from this policy. So once you enhance your democratic values in this way, what does this matter for the economy? Economists are notorious, of course, for being unidimensional in their thinking, forgive me for saying this, but I'm also trained as an economist. The economists here, I hope, won't feel too insulted, but the thing they don't understand is that most people don't think the way they do. They think that everyone thinks and behaves the way they do, but that's not true. Most people think and behave very differently; they will do things even if the discounted present value of the action is negative. They will actually do certain things; they will help people; for example, they will be co-operative, even though there may be not a profit in it, personally.

So if we take this as a given, then we would have to say that economists' obsession with these narrow concerns is not the obsession of everyone but, nevertheless, we can make an economical argument that greater democracy means greater productivity: I'm prepared to go that far. There's a lot of evidence for this. Happier people are well motivated, not just by the pay they receive, but by a spirit of belonging, and feeling that they belong in their society, at their place of work, in their family, in their neighbourhood, in their community. And an official policy of bilingualism greatly enhances that, for our linguistic minorities and ultimately, I would argue, for the linguistic majority, in whatever community you're looking at; if you're looking in Quebec or if you're looking elsewhere. A security, a sense of well-being, a sense of shared exchange, mutuality; this will enhance productivity in the economy and make for a stronger, not for a weaker economy. It is an error to think, therefore, of bilingualism as somehow a policy which saps economic well-being or that duplication of services is somehow costly. I don't think that's so, I think that in fact there is a hidden benefit, hidden in the sense that it's not immediately obvious, but a very great hidden benefit which greatly outweighs whatever direct cost is involved with a program of bilingualism or linguistic duality. And I think that the Habermas and Taylor debates capture this very, very well.

Well, I elaborated at length on this in the paper. Now, the human capital theory issue. If we take a look at the charts on the board or on the transparency projector, and I have to acknowledge here the assistance of a researcher named Susannah Benady, who's a journalist and also happens to be my wife: So if I didn't

acknowledge it, she would be very angry with me. She, along with me, we designed this survey where we went and interviewed, by telephone, at a fairly great length, close to a dozen leading employers in the country. We chose the sectors that are listed on the screen: construction, auto manufacturing, banking and finance, pharmaceuticals, retail trade and processing, and we conducted an interview with them. More particularly, she conducted the interview; she's much better at that. I like to answer questions; I'm very bad at asking them. But she's very good at it. She talked at length to the people in these companies who are responsible for designing their employment policies. These are senior people, not junior people, that she's spoke to. And, of course, this is such a delicate kind of question and answer, there's nothing scientific about it, of course; we just arbitrarily selected these companies, though it is interesting that they account for 120,000 employees. So it's not completely insignificant.

One can presume that we were told the truth, I think, that they wouldn't try to mislead us, because we guarantee them anonymity, which I'm doing; I'm not telling you who these companies are.

It's interesting if you look at the questions. Question 1: Are bilingual language skills considered an asset when recruiting employees? All companies answered yes. Both in Quebec, but outside of Quebec also; right across the country. One or two answers suggest that if we had an office, let us say in British Columbia, the knowledge of Mandarin or Cantonese, perhaps Japanese, would be very useful, but they still stress that they view a bilingual employee as a much more flexible employee, someone who could perform their task very effectively and could adapt to change more effectively.

So, if you look at the next two questions. Question 2: Are these skills considered an asset outside of Quebec? The answer was yes. Question 3: Are bilingual employees better payed? The answer was overwhelmingly no. Question 4: Do you provide a bonus to bilingual employees? In all cases the answer was no.

Though the next questions, 3 and 4, are probably a disappointment to federal civil servants who undoubtedly are feeling a lot of pressure, and I greatly empathise with them, but there is no bonus paid for this these days. There is, in fact, a straightforward salary match-up; you're hired, we want you if you have these skills, but we are not to pay you extra because of them.

So, that suggests to me, of course, that in human capital theory, which says that there is certain advantages because of the possession of these linguistic attributes which are seen as resources on the employment market, is in fact validated by some of this data. In a very basic, unscientific way.

The paper also has a discussion about the relative differences in income earned by people who work, who are bilingual Allophones, Anglophones, unilingual Anglophones, unilingual Francophones, and so on. But I think there is political debate around that. There is a new press release with a slightly different interpretation than the one that I had already seen in the literature that Professor Vaillancourt and others have contributed to. So I'll leave that to others. It's an interesting debate, ongoing, which I suspect has a certain degree of political motivation in it. Perhaps not.

Let's turn to the issue of symbolic analysts. Here, we're talking about the work of a very bright, but very diminutive person, Robert Reich, who's the current Secretary of Labour in the United States, and quite influential on President Clinton. Though he appears to be on the losing side of most debates these days; although maybe things will change in the next two years. What is it that Reich has done? Well, he's developed a very controversial theory that many economists basically do not agree with. But they've been, in a way, sort of out-manoeuvred because Reich asked the questions that were critical and they were concentrating on a lot of neo-classical questions, which turn out to be perhaps not quite as critical. He tries to ask what is the wealth of nations. Now, Michael Porter has asked this question, Adam Smith asked it, economists throughout history have asked it. But Reich is very fascinated by the changes which he argues are taking place in the late 20th century, increasingly globalized economy.
There's a certain bit of 'cliché' in all of this, with all the talk of the information highway, the network, we have to be extra flexible; but his argument is quite fascinating.

He says, and I'm going to quote a little passage from his work, "that certain kinds of skills today represent potential human wealth, and the more of these skills you have in your economy, which are obviously embodied in the individuals, the more such individuals we have, the wealthier, other things being equal, your economy will be, the higher your rate of economic growth, and presumably the lower your rate of unemployment." Again, when I teach this to my own students, I always counsel caution, and stress that you have to also have a supportive monetary and fiscal framework, in which this is to develop. But listen to who Reich defines as symbolic analysts:

> "People who work at problem solving, problem identifying and strategic brokering; the services they produce do not answer world commerce's standardized things, traded instead are the manipulation of symbolism, data, words, oral and visual representations. Symbolic analysts solve, identify and broker problems by manipulating symbols. They simplify reality into abstract images that can be rearranged, juggled, experimented with, communicated to other specialists and then, eventually,

> transformed back into reality. The manipulations are done with analytical tools, sharpened by experience. Symbolic analysts often work alone, or in small teams which may be connected to larger organisations, including world-wide webs. Teamwork is critical; when not with their teammates, symbolic analysts sit before their computer terminals, examining words and numbers, moving them, altering them, trying out new words and numbers, formulating and testing hypotheses, designing or strategizing."

Well, very clearly, if you look at those characteristics, they are very similar to the characteristics required of people who learn another language. Learning another language is perhaps the first step to becoming a symbolic analyst. And there is probably not a symbolic analyst in North America who doesn't have knowledge of more than one language. There is a wonderful Central European expression which I was taught many years ago, by a Central European, which says that "the more languages you know, the more times you are a human being." In the sense that it opens you up to a different way of thinking about the human experience. And that, in and of itself, is broadening; that's the old, you know, cultural question, but it's more than that; it enables people to be much more open to innovation, much more flexible in how they deal with the world, the world of the economy, the world of an entrepreneur, the world of, you know, business-government interaction, and so on.

And it seems to me that Reich's analysis, though it's controversial for economists, is quite useful, I should think, in trying to develop a defence of linguistic duality at a time when, for example, the Reform Party is very impatient with this notion. I don't think there are a lot of good symbolic analysts in the Reform Party; if there were, they would change their tune a little bit. I think they would change the way they deal with the political questions of the day. And perhaps over time—there's a learning curve—perhaps they might if they stay long enough.

Now, let me briefly touch on the situation that's been spoken of earlier of Quebec Anglophones, the minority group I know best. It's been said a number of times and there's been a controversy in Quebec very recently, that young Quebec Anglophones have difficulty penetrating the job market, despite the possession of extremely good, increasingly better, linguistic competence in French. It is kind of astonishing to me, when I look at the data, that only 465 Quebec provincial public servants claim English as their maternal language. Now, the population of Quebec is roughly 13% Anglophone, something close to that. At the same time, English speakers are also under-represented, of course, at the federal level, occupying, well, I mean, English speakers from Quebec, occupying only 5.2% of the jobs outside of the National Capital Region. Alliance Québec has produced quite an excellent report, *Task Force on Job Opportunities for English-Speaking Youth in Quebec*, which I think advances a number of these claims. I know it's difficult for the Francophones to accept this as a reality, because it so contradicts their own

perception, which is undoubtedly based on experience over the years of the true situation. But those of us who live in Quebec, in the English-speaking minority community, know, you know, you have to listen to minorities as to what they say. They know what the truth really is. No majority can tell a minority what it's truth is. A minority speaks for itself and you just have to take it as a given. If minorities complain about something, there must be a reason that bears investigation; and of course there is a long history of injustice towards our Francophone minority in Canada, which none of us would want to be very proud of, but at the same time, it's important to be careful that the linguistic minority in Quebec is also well treated.

To conclude, let me just discuss this issue of the framework of monetary and fiscal policy, a subject that's probably anathema these days. I chatted briefly to someone who represented the Department of Finance. I asked him what was the state of debate inside the Department of Finance about these issues? He said, "Debate!?", and then looked at me as if I was clearly at the wrong cocktail party. Very nice fellow, but the point was that he made it fairly clear to me that the debate ended long ago. I think there's still a debate, I hope very strongly and sincerely that the debate will resurface, certainly about monetary policy, but eventually also about fiscal policy. I know that's not for civil servants to say but, luckily, I'm sort of an indirect civil servant; I have 10 years seniority and some job security for the moment, so I'm prepared to say, and even though it may be considered a risky business, I think there is still a debate that needs to take place about the Bank of Canada's obsession with zero inflation and about its, I think, really Draconian orientation towards the issue of inflation and the consequences that has for our economy.

And there's a direct relationship between those policies and the issues of linguistic duality that we've been talking about this afternoon and this morning. As I say here, just as every cloud has its silver lining, every positive scenario has its dark side.

There is no doubt that the policy of linguistic duality is of great real benefit to Canada; I think we've been arguing that all day. But you know, over the past 15 years in this country, we've had a steady upward drift in the rate of unemployment, certainly in Canada and in Quebec. Every time the unemployment rate rises, another Separatist spokesperson comes up with an explanation, like "it's because of the federal government, it's the federal system that is the problem". It's a constant refrain.

So, it seems to me that if we're going to take seriously the notion of linguistic duality and our commitment to it, and the flowering of it in the future, I think we have to take seriously—this is a very unpopular notion these days, that's why I call this book that I'm bringing out, *Rediscovering Full Employment*—bringing the

unemployment rate way down, through a combination of appropriate monetary and fiscal policy and some of the ideas of people like Robert Reich.

To conclude, if we embrace the policy of linguistic duality, it is essential that we also embrace a policy dedicated towards low unemployment and strong economic growth. This requires more that just a commitment to enhance our linguistic capacities; it also requires a degree of co-operation from the Bank of Canada in ensuring that low unemployment, strong and stable economic growth and low inflation are the goals of monetary policy. A central bank that is fixated upon zero inflation, to the neglect of these other goals, is likely to undermine national unity and exacerbates linguistic tensions.

Now, clearly, it's not the purpose of this paper to dwell at length on this, but it seems to me that if we neglect this area, all of our discussion about positive benefits of linguistic duality will go by the board, because it seems to me that the forces that propagate the notions of separatism in Quebec will take heart from the rise, in the rise of the unemployment rate. But I know a lot of the *péquistes*—some of them friends of mine, even though we disagree dramatically about these issues—and I do know how determined they are, and I do know how people think, I think, in Quebec, about high unemployment, where they see it as a catastrophe.

So I would say policy makers would have to judge whether zero inflation and pleasing the money markets is more important than the survival and healthy growth of our country. Thank you very much.

Pierre Gaudet

Thank you very much, Mr. Chorney. We are slightly behind, but the presentations and discussions have been very interesting all day. Let us give a few minutes to those who would like to comment.

Jean Fahmy

I would like to speak about the benefit of bilingualism and the benefits people reap for themselves. It is political analysis that interests me here, and not economic analysis. We have been saying all day long, very explicitly—Mr. Chorney said it very well—that bilingualism, I am talking here about individual bilingualism, the ability to speak both languages, yields some quite extraordinary benefits. We are talking here, among ourselves, among the converted; we know, we know it is a good thing and all.

But I obsessively recall two figures from Statistics Canada. The first is that there are 30 million Canadians and 4.5 million are bilingual. That means there are over 25 million unilingual Canadians. If we want to spread the idea that bilingualism is

a benefit and an asset to Canada, we will have to be very careful about the kind of arguments, about the kind of vocabulary we use and the time we take when we preach that we are clever, we are the chosen few who know how to speak two or three languages. Either we have better brains because we have learned a second language, or we have learned a second language because we have better brains. We must be very careful.

We have spoken today about the Reform Party. I believe this party's opposition to bilingualism stems from the fact that people like us, who speak two or three languages, project the image of a new elite. We are of a different class. We are Canadians of the avant-garde. We must be very careful about this.

Roger Farley

I would like to contribute a layman's viewpoint. I am not a researcher, so I have no economic axe to grind. But after several years' experience in the official languages sector at the Department of Canadian Heritage, in contact with provincial governments and majority and minority communities, I would like to propose the following viewpoint.

My first hypothesis is this: for governments, the marginal cost related to the offer of services enabling minority communities to develop and flourish is less than the benefits these communities offer to society in general. I say this to some extent in order to challenge the idea that territorial bilingualism would cost less to Canadian society. If we examine Canada's official languages policy, having translation and interpretation services provided to Canadians in both official languages, it does not generate additional marginal costs whether we have a minority in Gravelbourg, Saskatchewan, or Halifax, Nova Scotia.

These policies will continue to exist, and the costs to be assumed by Canadian society will not change at all.

My second hypothesis is the following: when government policies are sympathetic or encourage the development of minority communities—we are talking here about the cost to Canadians—the benefits to society in general are much greater than when the communities are given no assistance. I am basing myself on the fact—and I am harking back to Mr. Chorney's last presentation—that when we consider the status of these minority communities, there would be a shrinking return for the federal government if it did not intervene. A shrinking return because we would find a higher dropout rate, a level of education lower than it is at present. For society in general, the costs of not intervening would be greater than the costs of intervening.

I agree with Mr. Grenier on one point, that governments must act and will have to continue doing so in order to try to maintain a linguistic equilibrium in Canada, thus fostering the development of minority and majority communities. I do not at all agree with the hypothesis whereby territorial bilingualism would cost Quebec society less.

Ned Ellis

I just want to support the point that was made over here; I think it's a very key point, about the perception of elitism and the possibility that, if in the follow-up of this colloquium, there is an intention on our part to do something with the results of today. The trade element which Mr. Breton has emphasized is again something which benefits all Canadians and not just those who happened to be the deal-makers and the ones who get to sign the contracts but, equally all of the people that work in manufacturing, in service industries, that are able to export those goods or to import goods and services more cheaply.

One element that hasn't been discussed a great deal is tourism. In a bilingual country we can draw more people into the economy. There has been an excellent example actually in *Le Festival des Acadiens* which was last year and drew not only from French groups in North America, but equally from Europe. Certainly it was the bilingual aspect that was the draw, but the benefits were for everyone, for everyone that supplies the tourism industry in Acadia.

Marc Thérien

I would like to make a brief comment on the linguistic arrangement models: territoriality, the Canadian model. There is a tendency to present them as being opposed to one another, while in fact the Canadian model is partly territorial and partly highly considerate of personal choices. With provincial jurisdictions coming into play, there is a sliding scale and the same thing is not being delivered everywhere.

There is this notion of significant demand and what we actually do at the community level, development on a sliding scale, as well, according to the possibilities and according to the cost. There is thus no call to speak of antagonism.

François Vaillancourt

I will not comment on Canada's monetary or fiscal policy. Two observations: one on the much-discussed issue of costs and the other on the territoriality of bilingualism in Quebec.

With regard to costs, it must be acknowledged that, when the decision was made to offer a service such as French public broadcasting to one Francophone in the Ottawa area, the cost of providing it to all the others was approximately nil. It may depend on the power of the transmitter, but the marginal cost is very low. A distinction must be made between the cost of easily disseminated services—in this regard Internet and the electronic village can bring down costs very substantially—and the costs of personalized services, where there is delivery relating to a unit of production, such as a job counsellor in a small Francophone area. So your comment, that there is a sliding scale for services, provides a basis for optimizing the cost-benefit ratio. But I do not think we have ever thought that way. We do it implicitly. But I think your comment is quite right.

A second comment on territoriality, on the issue of bilingualism. When I spoke earlier, I clearly distinguished Montreal from the rest of Quebec. The basic argument is that the Dutch are very happy to have four languages because they can speak Dutch at home. Quebecers would be much happier to be bilingual if they were confident of being able to speak French at home. They can increasingly, except in the Montreal area, where there are still some unilingual Anglophones. The unilingual Anglophone is an irritant for the Quebec Francophone because he makes it necessary to use a language other than your own within your own territory. The unilingual Anglophone is not an irritant outside Quebec. Thus, by following different routes, Gilles Grenier and I have reached the same conclusions.

It is clear that having a bilingual Anglophone community in Montreal is a plus for the Francophone community. In one of the papers on the Gaspé, it is mentioned that Anglophone fishermen, having easier access to technology in the other provinces, come back with the most innovative ideas. I am convinced that the English hospitals in Montreal are three to six months ahead of the French hospitals in technology because they are more in touch with the North American systems. I also believe that the presence of Anglophone institutions in Montreal gives Quebec access to the North American system for the training of its highly specialized workers. If we do not want 20 of our physicians going off each year to train in American hospitals, we had better have something to offer. If we can only offer a unilingual Francophone setting, we will be gradually cut off from the North American system and we will lose the comparative advantage of being French-speaking North Americans. But this argument holds for Montreal, where there is a large critical mass of Anglophones and we can easily maintain institutions of higher learning at a low cost. The economic argument is much less solid outside Montreal. That was my only comment. So I share the opinion that the benefits of bilingualism are certainly clear, but within a radius.

François Grin

I would like to get back to what Mr. Chorney said earlier. Well, first of all, even though I'm trained as an economist, ' have no problem with Habermas. What I know in French as *la théorie de l'agir communicationnel* (I have no idea what it's called in English, unfortunately) does not necessarily conflict with more standard economic approaches. I don't see any conflict there. However, I would still insist that more standard economics are still indispensable, but it doesn't have to be silly economics. I agree with you on the need to broaden our view as much as we can. I think environmental economics offers some of the very useful tools that we need for that, but still this remains indispensable because decisions have to be made. As Stokey and Zeckhauser say in a pretty nice book, which of course you know, called *Primer for Policy Analysis*, there are no incommensurables, in the real world. Sometimes, we are going to have to be reductionist, and put some sort of monetary value on anything, even bilingualism, in order to decide. We only have that many resources to spend; should we spend them on bilingualism or expand health services?

Harold Chorney

First, I would like to respond to Mr. Fahmy. It is not a question of elitism. We see it as one, but it isn't really. I believe it is possible, eventually and gradually, to teach the majority of the people to understand both official languages and to learn to speak. My mother has ten years of schooling, and she wants to learn French. She tells me that when she was young she enjoyed studying French. I think the Reform Party represents the Prairie mentality. Since I am from Winnipeg and have become bilingual, I understand this mentality. There is a certain reaction against the centres of power located in Eastern Canada. In Winnipeg we say that Eastern Canada is really the centre of Canada. We speak of Ottawa bureaucrats. There is a certain resentment against the power, the wealth, the absence of unemployment that we used to see, and so on. But I am absolutely certain that if we developed a program, as in the past, designed to enhance second language teaching, in each region of Canada, and a program of exchanges for youth and ordinary citizens, it would be possible to change attitudes toward the language issue. I am also convinced that young people have a completely different attitude from that of their elders.

I believe we have here some parents who are involved in teaching, getting their children educated in another language. In Winnipeg, my sister has a child in immersion school. Now you can say, "Well, what's the point?" but they like it. My niece has gone to France, they've gone to Quebec, they go to Saint-Boniface; they are interested in it and I actually think, though I know it sounds elitist, I don't mean it to be, I think that it's possible in the long run to actually implement the vision of Mr. Trudeau. I actually think it's possible. I know that Mr. Vaillancourt, and

others in Quebec, don't agree with that. They see it as hopelessly Utopian, but I don't. And perhaps I'm a hopeless romantic, but I think that it is possible to actually do that. I don't think it's a question of elitism; it's very easy to attack it, but the attack comes from an insecurity of the people who feel threatened by it. So the key is to develop an alternative.

Jean Fahmy

I fully and totally agree with you and I do believe that we should strive to achieve that goal, and I hope, without being romantic or otherwise, that we'll achieve that goal. What I'm just saying is that, for the time being, there is a very large number of Canadians who are unilingual, whether by insecurity or otherwise. I think it's the minimum of civic sentiment and behaviour to respect the unilingualism and to not project the image of us being different, in a different sort of class and, by doing so, I think that we will more easily convince others that learning a second language is a good thing per se. I think we are on the same wavelength.

Harold Chorney

I agree with you, but....

Albert Breton

But we are different. We are a different class. There is no way out of this dilemma. Professionals are not liked in society, they will never be liked, they have faults as professionals. Everyone who acquires a skill becomes a professional and adopts these professional deformations, and then you carry them with you. So I carry the burden of my profession; I have to carry all the stupid things that Chorney says on my back because he's an economist, and so am I. What can I do? I don't know about what was Trudeau's vision, but the idea that we are all to be bilingual in Canada is impossible. We can't expect this. It'll never come about. There are some people who do not have the skills to convert resources into learning a language. And some do not want to learn a second language; they want to spend their resources on something else. So, there is going to be a class of people who will be specialised in doing transactions between groups of different languages. It will never be everyone that is going to be bilingual. Just too bad there is going to be a group that is bilingual; they will be treated by the others with resentment. There's resentment from people who are not economists vis-à-vis economists, and there's resentment on the part of economists vis-à-vis non-economists. That's the way the world is made. Those of you who live in Academia know that I'm talking elementary truth; that's the life of Academia, talking against the other guys.

Harold Chorney

Let me be academic for a moment. Of course, I'm not saying that everyone will become totally bilingual, but I think we can make considerable progress; we will still have some people who will be much more bilingual than others and some people who will never be bilingual, I agree. But, there is a continuum in this. It's possible to progress further, if you take it seriously. If one takes the idea that from the supply side, never mind the demand side, but from the supply side, in order to be a thriving economy, to function well in the world economy, in the very competitive world economy, we need to have an obviously skilled labour force, with a great deal of adaptability and flexibility.

Then, it's important that we train our people, as much as we can and as much as they have the capacity and, here, perhaps I'm different from you, I think that people are capable of learning much more than they do learn, through our schools and educational systems. Just looking at our children, we can see they are capable of learning enormously more than we offer them. So, if we were to devote ourselves to this, as part of an economic strategy for, you know, reducing our terrible unemployment rate and changing the mood in the country, and so on, I would see this, I guess, as a visionary thing that would actually be good. It wouldn't be, no one can say we are going to convert Canada to a 100% Switzerland, where they are multilingual. I know Switzerland reasonably well. But it seems to me we can go a long way in this direction.

This conference was set at the beginning as evidence of that. Look around, there are very few people who required simultaneous translation devices; maybe their understanding wasn't perfect, maybe their speeches weren't perfect, but they are functionally bilingual. And that is a marvellous accomplishment. And that is something that we can actually push further.

Pierre Gaudet

Thank you for your contributions, but since time is getting on, I think we will have to interrupt this discussion, which is particularly spirited. I would like to tell everyone, before leaving the last word to Ms. St-Pierre Babin, that the proceedings of this day will be available. I would also like to thank André Renaud, who has agreed to look after the minutes of this gathering.

I would also like to thank a great many people who contributed to the holding of this gathering. I will not name them all, but I would like first and foremost to thank our Assistant Deputy Minister, who was in attendance this morning, and our Director General of Official Languages Support Programs Branch, Mr. Hilaire Lemoine, for the encouragement they gave to this idea and its implementation. I

would also like to offer my sincere thanks to the representatives of the various universities who accepted our invitation and drafted presentations and are going to turn them in to us after making the desired changes to provide the core of the proceedings of this gathering.

I would like to thank, especially, Ned Ellis and the people working with him, and we should mention I think Ghislain Savoie who, on top of making a presentation, was instrumental in organizing and making happen this discussion day. Also Kim Macies-Johnson, who contributed to the organisation of this day. I also want to mention Michael O'Keefe and Paule Doucet, and I think the presentators know those people because they've had contacts with them through the day taking shape, through the preparation that prepared this day.

Finally, I thank all those who accepted our invitation to come and listen to the presentations and take part in the discussions.

Having expressed my thanks, I will now turn the floor over to Sylvie St-Pierre Babin, who very graciously agreed to sum up the proceedings and outline the highlights of this day. Sylvie St-Pierre Babin is Director General of the *Conseil canadien de la coopération*, president of the Caisse populaire Saint-Raymond Credit Union in Hull and a board member of Trusteo Desjardins, which manages investment for the Desjardins Group. She is well known in community and co-operative circles, where she has served in a variety of capacities. It is with great pleasure that I leave the concluding remarks to her.

Sylvie St-Pierre Babin

Thank you, Pierre. Ladies and gentlemen. You will understand that it is quite a challenge for me to try to present a point of view. This will not be a traditional summing up, that is to say, a review of the main points of the various presentations, which, I might add, were very interesting and especially instructive for all of us who received the various messages. I will focus rather on the perspective of someone who lives on a daily basis with people who speak the official languages and does her best to participate in the economic development of our communities.

The purpose of today's proceedings was to explore, in the late 20th-century Canadian and international context, relationships between the two official languages and the economy. The challenge, in my view, was very clearly presented and very effectively addressed. I was told that there were many points to be considered and, as I mentioned just now, without going into any of the presentations, I will speak about what we are left with as regards the challenges we have before us.

The premise is the following: there are two official languages in our country. There are, however, official language communities that are in a minority situation. And that is the challenge we must meet when we talk about the development and growth of communities virtually anywhere in the country. These are men and women who, according to circumstance, speak an official language as a member of a majority or a minority. But basically, what we have to work on at the moment is much more a matter of acting like winners as a community. It's much more than sharing.

We spoke a little earlier about the necessary political will. The desire for real development of communities. This will, of course, must exist in the various levels of government; regardless of level, whether municipal, provincial or federal. All governments must be sensitive to the needs and expectations of the various communities. However, a link-up is needed and that link-up is that of the communities, which also have the will to act, development needs and expectations. And, for several years, we have observed a trend which has not yet really been measured, but we are seeing more and more individuals who are able to define their needs and expectations in terms of services sought and willingness to create new jobs for themselves.

This diversity in our communities must be acknowledged. When people tell us that, despite the fact that they are capable of working in either official language they have unmet needs in terms of education and health, we must be able to meet these needs. We do not, when we talk about bilingualism in our country (or linguistic duality), always have to aim for the interface in all services and in all our actions. That would be virtually impossible. All the presentations given demonstrated this. However, we must work to create the plans. When we talk about a social plan, there must be clear definition of the most urgent needs we must address, of how link-ups and political will are going to come together to create jobs in innovative sectors to meet the needs of the individuals in this country, in the language of their choice.

We also saw that, in this broad world context (we live in a world of change), the profile of the population is what it is. That is to say, we have two official languages, French and English, but there is also the entire aspect of immigrants. We must consider the needs of these people, as well as their contribution to our society, when we think about the true development of the official languages in our country.

When we discuss bilingualism, we understand the importance of a good balance between the social and the economic aspect. Everything is not merely social. Everything is not merely cultural. And everything is certainly not merely economic. There must be a very good balance between these various aspects. In our consideration of the Canadian situation and bilingualism, we saw that learning

a second language brings with it tremendous advantages. There was mention earlier that acting as elitists must be avoided. What I especially noted when we were discussing the advantage of learning a second language was all the human capital that is derived, the openmindedness it gives us toward other circumstances. It makes it easier for us to find employment, provides us with an opening on the world and fosters better mutual understanding among individuals. Is that not a more interesting challenge, that of defining what being Canadian involves rather than counting on something we are not?

In fact, we live in an open society, and there must be more work on the aspects which enable us to have bilingualism recognized and individual choices respected. Let us consider the experience of the co-operative sector. I was asked to speak last because we are active in the economic development of communities. In recent years, we have tried to give priority to the sectors of the economy where we could anchor the future development of the co-operative sector. We are well known in some sectors, such as credit unions and service co-operatives. We are now turning more toward work co-operatives. These are organizations in which the individuals are collective partners. When we talk about partnerships, these types of enterprise, in fact, enable people to create new jobs and adopt new approaches, in other words, to meet the expectations of individuals.

Our approach, and this is perhaps the message I would like to leave with you, we do not use the territorial approach. Mr. Poirier, who represents the bilingual municipalities of Manitoba and belongs to the wide network of Francophone associations, could certainly back me up on this. We do not work to define territories for Francophones, but are much more concerned with networking among the various communities that wish to make themselves known as Francophone communities or communities with strong Francophone involvement in community life. We seek to create networks among such communities rather than protect defined territories for people living in minority circumstances. I can assure you that, with modern techniques, such as those offered by the information highway and new technology, things are going very fast. In an ever-changing world, it is important to make choices and make the right choices, so as to share them with communities, people and governments.

With that, I wish to thank you. I hope that I did not go on too long. Thank you for your patience. I know that it is always difficult to listen to a summing-up at the end of the day. On the other hand, I think it was important to express this viewpoint. Thank you very much.

Pierre Gaudet

Thank you to Sylvie St-Pierre Babin and, again, thank you to everybody. I am sure you appreciated the relevance and the brevity of her summing-up.

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